

# The Nation

AUG 11 1916

UNIV. OF MICHIGAN LIBRARY

Vol. CIII—No. 2667

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, AUGUST 10, 1916

TEN CENTS

IN THIS ISSUE:*Psycho-Analysis and Sex-Psychology*

By WARNER FITE

*The Allies' Note to Greece*

By JOHN A. HUYBERS

**SPEAKING OF RUSSIA—****Russia at the Cross-Roads**

By C. E. BECHHOFER

Net, \$2.00

With an introduction by A. H. Murray.

As things stand at present Russia is to the English an enigma which must be solved on peril of future disaster. Here is a book that challenges the familiar conception that Russia's policy, both internal and external, has been the fruit of deep-laid schemes of conquest and autocracy.

**The Russian Arts**

By ROSA NEWMARCH

Net, \$1.75

A companion volume to THE RUSSIAN OPERA by the same author.

As an introduction to the study of Russian art, this book covers a wider scope than anything yet produced in English, and leads to the confines of a great field for future study. Confining herself to the arts of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting, Miss Newmarch in her profusely illustrated volume has traced the history of their development from the origin down to the present day.

**My Slav Friends**

By ROTHAY REYNOLDS

Net, \$3.00

No one interested in the Russian people—how they live, what they wear, and what they think—should overlook this illuminating book. Mr. Reynolds, who is blessed with a kindly humor, gives a series of piquant pen pictures of his visits to Russian and Polish homes, and his wanderings in the garb of a Russian student. A book of intimate personal impressions—as entertaining as a novel.

**Self Government in Russia**

By PAUL VINOGRADOFF, F.B.A.

Net, \$1.25

A concise and non-technical work on a little-known subject. The author traces the history of self government from its rise in the days of Peter the Great down to the present day, and closes with a brilliant chapter on how it is affected by the Great War.

**A History of Russia**By V. O. KLUCHEVSKY Three volumes Net, \$2.50 each  
Translated by C. J. Hogarth.

Covering an immensity of historical ground, this work is undoubtedly the most authoritative book on Russian history at present available in English, and will be warmly welcomed by all interested in the gigantic nation it deals with. A monumental work by one of the greatest of Russian historians, it is an invaluable aid to the student.

**Potential Russia**

By RICHARD WASHBURN CHILD

Net, \$1.50

All through this book the reader can feel the vast Russian people—good natured, deliberate, and so slowly perceiving their own possibilities. Mr. Child has talked with them all—peasant, priest, and prince—and the impressions that he gained make a rarely fascinating tale. If you would know something of the Russian character, if you would do business with this giant of the North, or if you would merely pass a pleasant evening—here are the means.

E. P. DUTTON &amp; COMPANY, 681 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

**Foreign and American  
Dealers in**

Rare Books, Autographs, Manuscripts, Prints, Engravings, etc.

NOW READY:  
**PART V OF THE  
CATALOGUE  
OF THE  
DE REUTER LIBRARY**  
CONTAINING  
**LAW, POLITICAL ECONOMY,  
MUSIC, THEOLOGY  
AND  
ARTISTIC AND MEDICAL ANATOMY**  
*Post-free on application, from*  
**HENRY SOTHERAN AND CO.**  
43, PICCADILLY, LONDON, W.  
ENGLAND

*N.B.—The former parts may also be had:—  
I. Art and Archaeology; II. History; III. Philosophy, Orientalia and Classical Literature; IV. European Literature and Philology, Natural History and Anthropology.*

**Largest Stock of PAMPHLETS in America**  
Lists furnished promptly on any subject. Lists ready on  
Mexico and Mexican War  
American Revolution Texas  
War of 1812 American Travel  
Civil War Washington  
Indians Slavery  
*Back numbers of 1200 different magazines in stock*  
Send me your want lists for Books, Pamphlets, Maps, Magazines, articles on special subjects, etc.  
**A. S. CLARK, PEEKSKILL, N. Y.**

**NATURAL HISTORY, AMERICANA, OLD  
MEDICAL, QUAKERIANA, PRINTS,  
AUTOGRAPHS.** Send 4c. stamps for Cata-  
log—naming specialty.  
**FRANKLIN BOOKSHOP (S. N. Rhoads)**  
920 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

**RARE BOOKS AND FIRST EDITIONS**  
PURCHASED for people who are too busy  
to form libraries. Address  
**DOWNING, Box 1336, BOSTON, MASS.**

**Books, Second-hand—Catalogues, post free.**  
HUGERT E. GORFIN (late Charing Cross Road),  
1 WALTER ROAD, LEWISHAM, LONDON, S.E.

BACK NUMBERS OF MAGAZINES TO BE HAD  
at ABBRAHAMS BOOK STORE, 145 4th Avenue.

**BOOKS, AUTOGRAPHS, PRINTS.** Catalogues Free  
R. ATKINSON, 97 Sunderland Rd, Forest Hill, LONDON, ENGL.

**BINDER FOR THE NATION**  
To receive the current number in a  
convenient (temporary) form. Substan-  
tially made, bound in cloth, with THE  
NATION stamped on the side in gold.  
Holds about one volume. Papers easily  
and neatly adjusted. Sent, postpaid, on  
receipt of 75 cents. Address The Nation,  
20 Vesey Street, New York City.

## Charles Evans Hughes —The Man

By JOHN PALMER GAVIT

Sidelights Upon the Personality of the Re-  
publican Candidate for President

(Reprinted from the Evening Post)

Has been issued in pamphlet form. 10 cents  
per copy. Special Rates in quantities.

**The New York Evening Post**

20 Vesey Street,

New York

### UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Lists of Publications in sciences, phi-  
losophy, philology, history, economics,  
will be sent upon request.

The University of California Press  
BERKELEY, CAL.

### Chronicles of the White Mountains

BY FREDERICK W. KILBOURNE

A complete history and travel book of the  
whole White Mountain region. Fully illus-  
trated. \$2 net. At all bookstores.

Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston

### To Newsstand Purchasers:—

Owing to the increased cost  
of white paper and also rising  
costs on every detail of  
expense of manufacture, it  
is requested that readers  
who buy The Nation at  
newsstands order in ad-  
vance. This will enable the  
dealer to order a definite  
supply each week and pre-  
vent waste or loss.

\$4.00 a year  
**THE NATION**  
10 cents a copy

### ECHOES OF DESTINY

By CLARENCE STONE

A brief book of values and  
vignettes; forty cents postpaid

THE ARNOLD PRESS  
204 E. Twenty-Fifth Street  
Baltimore, Maryland

Take THE NATION  
with you on your  
vacation

Arrange now to have each issue  
mailed direct from the publication  
office. No matter where you go  
The Nation will follow you, if you  
will tell us in time to change your  
address. To help us make the change  
promptly won't you be good enough  
to state the address "from" as well  
as the address "to." You may find  
it convenient to use this form:

Commencing ..... change my address

from .....

To R. F. D. .... No. .... Street

Town ..... County ..... State ....

Name .....

→ The Nation, 20 Vesey St., N. Y.

A WEEKLY JOURNAL



[Entered at the New York City Post Office as second-class mail matter.]

**The Nation** is published and owned by the New York Evening Post Co. OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD, President; JOHN PALMER GAVIT, Sec. and Treas.; EMIL M. SCHOLZ, Publisher.

Four dollars per year in advance, postpaid, in any part of the United States or Mexico; to Canada, \$4.50, and to foreign countries comprised in the Postal Union, \$5.00.

Address **THE NATION**, Box 704, New York. Publication Office, 20 Vesey Street.

London Office, 16 Regent Street, S. W. Washington Office, Home Life Building, 6 and 15th Sts., N. W. Chicago, 332 South Michigan Avenue. Buenos Aires, Lavalle 341.

HAROLD DE WOLF FULLER, Editor. STANLEY WENT, Assistant Editor. PAUL ELMER MORE, Advisory Editor. WILLIAM G. PRESTON, Advertising Manager. R. B. McCLEAN, Circulation Manager.

#### CONTENTS OF THIS NUMBER.

SUMMARY OF THE NEWS.....	117	
THE WEEK .....	118	
<b>EDITORIAL ARTICLES:</b>		
One Result of the War.....	121	
Do Representatives Represent?.....	121	
World Trade After the War.....	122	
Stability in the Garment Industries.....	123	
<b>FOREIGN CORRESPONDENCE:</b>		
The Allies' Note to Greece. By John A. Huubers .....	124	
A Defence of the Irish Executions. By James F. Muirhead .....	125	
A Ministerial Dilemma. By Sir Henry Lucy .....	125	
Impending Preparedness. By Stoddard Dewey .....	126	
PSYCHO-ANALYSIS AND SEX-PSYCHOLOGY. By Warner Flite.....	127	
<b>NOTES FROM THE CAPITAL:</b>		
John Hays Hammond.....	129	
<b>CORRESPONDENCE</b> .....		130
<b>LITERATURE:</b>		
Studies in the History of Natural Theology .....	132	
They of the High Trails.....	132	
The Border Legion.....	132	
Of One Blood.....	133	
Trial by Fire.....	133	
The Georgics and Eclogues of Virgil.....	133	
The Heritage of Tyre.....	134	
NOTES .....	135	
<b>DRAMA:</b>		
"Coat-Tales" .....	137	
Notes .....	137	
<b>FINANCE:</b>		
The Present Prosperity.....	139	
<b>BOOKS OF THE WEEK</b> .....		139

#### Recently Reprinted

**ESSAYS IN SOCIAL JUSTICE.** By Professor THOMAS NIXON CARVER, Harvard University. \$2.00 postpaid.

**HOW THE FRENCH BOY LEARNS TO WRITE.** By Professor ROLLO W. BROWN, Wabash College. \$1.25 postpaid.

**SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT.** Edited by C. B. THOMPSON. \$4.00 postpaid.

**NOMINATIONS FOR ELECTIVE OFFICE IN THE UNITED STATES.** By Hon. F. W. Dallinger. \$1.50 postpaid.

**THE GOVERNMENT OF FRANCE, ITALY, AND GERMANY.** By President A. LAWRENCE LOWELL, Harvard University. \$1.25 postpaid.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS  
CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS



Just Published  
**Cumulative Harmony**  
WILLIAM J. MCCOY

\$1.00

The author, through many years of experience in harmony teaching, has evolved a course in chord practice which covers thoroughly all phases of the science of harmony and at the same time creates in students a direct interest in the subject for itself. The plan of the work is continuously cumulative. The student is led step by step through the process of theory and practice, using each unit as it is added, in building up the system.

The book embodies several new and distinctive features, chief of which is its consistent and successful effort to make harmony interesting to the immature mind and entirely capable of comprehension.

**GINN AND COMPANY**  
BOSTON NEW YORK CHICAGO LONDON

#### SELECT LETTERS OF CICERO

Edited by HUBERT McN. POTEAT.  
Professor of Latin, Wake Forest College, N. C.

A selection of representative letters, edited with special reference to the needs of classes reading Cicero early in the college course.

Cloth, xi+201 pages. \$1.00.

**D. C. HEATH & CO., BOSTON, NEW YORK, CHICAGO**

#### Teachers' Agencies

##### THE FISK TEACHERS' AGENCIES

EVERETT O. FISK & Co., Proprietors.

Boston, 2a Park Street. Denver, 317 Masonic Blvd.  
New York, 158 Fifth Ave. Portland, 514 Journal Blvd.  
Birmingham, Ala., 809 Title Bid. Berkeley, 2161 Shattuck Av.  
Chicago, 814 Steger Bid. Los Angeles, 533 Clif. Bk. Bld.

Send to any address above for agency manual.

**ALBANY TEACHERS' AGENCY, Inc.**  
Supplies Schools and Colleges with Competent Teachers. Assists Teachers in obtaining positions. Send for Bulletin, 81 Chapel Street, Albany, N. Y.

#### Teacher Wanted

**TEACHER FOR HEAD OF DEPARTMENT OF**  
Commerce and Business Administration in State Normal School. Must have broad education, with special training in economics, and agreeable personality, with power to interest students. Must furnish record of training and references. Address Box 3, The Nation.

#### "THE TRUTH ABOUT THE BIBLE"

You should read this book. Price \$3.00. Address the Author, SIDNEY C. TAPP, Ph.B., Department H. L., Box 710, Kansas City, Mo.

#### INFORMATION ABOUT PRIVATE SCHOOLS

You are invited freely to call upon or write the Educational Library of **THE NATION** about private schools. A unique and practical library information service, completely equipped with catalogues, directories, special reports, etc., it offers you, without charge, help that is practical, timely, and above all unbiased. Inquiries by mail are promptly answered, and schools that seem best to meet your requirements suggested, and their location, environment, rates, and special points of strength set forth. This School Information Service is free to all inquirers.

ADDRESS EDUCATIONAL LIBRARY,

**THE NATION**  
20 VESEY STREET NEW YORK

#### THE DIVINE COMEDY

Translated by HENRY JOHNSON

Director of the Museum of Fine Arts,  
Bowdoin College.

"To me it is the most satisfactory rendering, all things considered—fidelity to word and spirit and nature of metrical vehicle—that has hitherto appeared in the English language."—WALTER LITTLEFIELD in the *New York Times*.

(Second Printing.) \$2.50 net, postpaid.

**YALE UNIVERSITY PRESS**  
NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT

*The Modern Criminal Science Series. Vol. VIII*

#### CRIMINALITY AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

By WILLIAM A. BONGER

"This work will promote wide discussion and stimulate thought on the subject, for it hits fearlessly at the roots of society and deals interestingly with a subject that concerns all. The deductions are those of a master and are supported by carefully compiled statistics and data."—*Brooklyn Eagle*.

8vo. Cloth. 738 pages. \$5.50 net.

**LITTLE, BROWN & COMPANY, BOSTON**

No person is fully educated until reading

#### THE MARTYR'S RETURN

By PERCIVAL W. WELLS

A thoughtful work, a literary work, an artistic work—a great work by a great American author.

"Here is a work of unusual type, really an argument, clothed in the garb of fiction. The story, while intensely interesting and thoroughly unique, carries a clear advocacy of national preparedness."—*Passaic Herald*.

8vo. Illustrations. Price, \$1 net.  
ORDER FROM YOUR DEALER OR  
**BARTLETT PUBLISHING COMPANY**  
WANTAGH, N. Y.

#### OUR COMPLETE CATALOGUE

of publications of science, philosophy, and literature will be sent to any address on request.

**The UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS, CHICAGO, ILL**

#### A HANDBOOK OF AMERICAN PRIVATE SCHOOLS

The 2nd Edition revised and enlarged of the HANDBOOK OF THE BEST PRIVATE SCHOOLS.

A critical and discriminating account of the Private Schools as they are with historical chapters.

Among the new features are a Complete List of PRIVATE SECONDARY SCHOOLS; new EDUCATIONAL DIRECTORIES; a LIST OF SECONDARY SCHOOL PERIODICALS.

New Introductory Chapters.—Measuring Educational Results, the Year in Education; Review of Recent Educational Literature, etc., by Prof. Arthur G. Norton of Wellesley College; Prof. Clayton C. Kohl of New York University and others.

608 pages, round corners, crimson silk cloth, gold stamped, \$2.00.

#### A HANDBOOK OF NEW ENGLAND

Descriptive of Town and Country along the Routes of Automobile Travel, with Introductory Chapters.

832 pages, round corners, crimson silk cloth, gold stamped, \$2.50.

**PORTER E. SARGENT, 50 Congress St., Boston.**

# Shall Railroad Wages be Determined by a Nation-wide *Strike* or an Impartial *Federal Inquiry*?

From the viewpoint of the public it is an intolerable situation when any group of men, whether employes or employers, whether large or small, have the power to decide that a great section of country \*\*\* shall undergo great loss of life, unspeakable suffering and loss of property beyond the power of description, through the stoppage of a necessary public service. This, however, is the situation which confronts us as a nation.—*From the Report of the Eastern Engineers' Arbitration Board* (1912), signed by Charles R. Van Hise, Oscar Straus, Frederick N. Judson, Albert Shaw, Otto N. Eidlitz, and Daniel Willard.

*To prevent the disaster of a nation-wide railroad strike—*

*To insure an impartial settlement of the unprecedented demands for higher wages made by train employes throughout the United States—*

The railroads propose that the entire question be disposed of

- (a) *By reference to the Interstate Commerce Commission, or*
- (b) *By arbitration under the existing Federal Law.*

The Interstate Commerce Commission is proposed by the railroads as the public body to which this issue ought to be referred for these reasons:

No other body with such an intimate knowledge of railroad conditions has such an unquestioned position in the public confidence.

The rates the railroad may charge the public for transportation are now largely fixed by this Government board.

Out of every dollar received by the railroads from the public nearly one-half is paid directly to the employes as wages; and the money to pay increased wages can come from no other source than the rates paid by the public.

The Interstate Commerce Commission, with its control over rates, is in a position to make a complete investigation and render such decision as would protect the interests of the railroad employes, the owners of the railroads, and the public.

The offer by the railroads to submit this controversy for settlement to a National Arbitration Board or to the Interstate Commerce Commission has been refused by the employes' representatives.

The railroads feel that they have no right to grant a wage preferment of \$100,000,000 a year to these employes, now highly paid and constituting only one-fifth of all the employes, without a clear mandate from a public tribunal that shall determine the merits of the case after a review of all the facts.

*The single issue before the country is whether this controversy is to be settled by an impartial Government inquiry or by industrial warfare.*

## National Conference Committee of the Railways

### ELISHA LEE, *Chairman*

P. R. ALBRIGHT, *Gen'l Manager,*  
Atlantic Coast Line Railroad.  
L. W. BALDWIN, *Gen'l Manager,*  
Central of Georgia Railway.  
C. L. BARDO, *Gen'l Manager,*  
New York, New Haven & Hartford R.R.  
E. H. COAPMAN, *Vice-President,*  
Southern Railway.  
S. E. COTTER, *Gen'l Manager,*  
Wabash Railway.  
P. E. CROWLEY, *Asst. Vice-President,*  
New York Central Railroad.

G. H. EMERSON, *Gen'l Manager,*  
Great Northern Railway.  
C. H. EWING, *Gen'l Manager,*  
Philadelphia & Reading Railway.  
E. W. GRICE, *Asst. to President,*  
Chesapeake & Ohio Railway.  
A. S. GRIEG, *Asst. to Receiver,*  
St. Louis & San Francisco Railroad.  
C. W. KOUNS, *Gen'l Manager,*  
Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé Railway.  
H. W. McMaster, *Gen'l Manager,*  
Wheeling & Lake Erie Railroad.

N. D. MAHER, *Vice-President,*  
Norfolk & Western Railway.  
JAMES RUSSELL, *Gen'l Manager,*  
Denver & Rio Grande Railroad.  
A. M. SCHROYER, *Resident Vice-Pres.,*  
Pennsylvania Lines West.  
W. L. SEDDON, *Vice-Pres.,*  
Seaboard Air Line Railway.  
A. J. STONE, *Vice-President,*  
Erie Railroad.  
G. S. WAID, *Vice-Pres. and Gen'l Mgr.,*  
Sunset Central Lines.

# The Nation

Vol. CIII

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, AUGUST 10, 1916

No. 2667

## Summary of the News

The beginning of the third year of war was celebrated last week with commemorative addresses and manifestoes by the rulers and ministerial, naval, and military leaders of all belligerent countries. The increased confidence of the Allies was reflected in the statements of their leaders. The Kaiser's manifestoes were characteristic in tone, but dwelt rather upon the sturdy defence of the German nation against implacable foes than upon the glories of victory, and attributed to Germany's enemies the blame for further bloodshed. More significant is Maximilian Harden's long review of the situation, extracts from which were cabled to the *New York Times* of Monday, warning his countrymen that the end is not yet in sight and that "we shall see more naked misery and hard need in the third year of the war than in many ordinary years." In this connection we may note the inauguration, on August 1, of the famous campaign of the officially inspired National Committee for Securing an Honorable Peace.

The offensive of the Allies has continued steadily on all fronts. In the West the most notable development of the military situation has been the passing of the offensive to the French in the Verdun section. There, after two days of tremendous struggle, with varying fortune, the French official bulletin of August 4 was able to announce the complete occupation of Fleury and the Thiaumont work. On the Somme the British, at the end of last week, made important advances north of Pozières, breaking through the main second line position of the Germans over a front of two miles for a distance varying in depth from 400 to 600 yards. Monday's bulletin reported the complete repulse of successive counter-attacks.

Since the Russian advance across the Stokhod, German resistance in defence of Kovel has perceptibly stiffened. Whether this is attributable to new measures developed by von Hindenburg, to whom has now been entrusted the supreme command of the entire Teutonic line in the East, can only be surmised. More probably the Russians have been busy consolidating positions already won and making preparations for the next step. A minor success south of Brody was recorded in the bulletin from Petrograd of August 5, which stated that the Russians had got across the Sereth River, some 5,000 Austrians being captured in the operations. It is here that the Austrians are making a determined stand for the defence of Lemberg. Presumably the fighting last week, a continuation of the battle for Brody, marks also the beginning of a new battle for Lemberg.

On the Italian front Austrian counter-attacks aiming at the recapture of Monte Cimone have been repulsed, and successful fighting is recorded by the Rome bulletins in the Astico Valley. Monday's bulletin also reported the capture of strong Austrian posi-

tions in the Tofana region, 3,600 prisoners being taken during the day. The Servian army is apparently continuing its task of returning good for dubious neutrality by expelling Bulgarian troops from Greek territory.

From accounts of the battle at Romant, which took place on August 5 and 6, it would appear that the safety of the Suez Canal is completely assured for some time to come. The Turks, about 14,000 strong, advanced from El Arish to make a frontal attack on the British positions at Romant. Repulsed and outflanked, they were driven back a distance of eighteen miles, pursued by the British, who report the capture of 3,100 prisoners, including a number of Germans. The Turks are said to have lost one-fourth of their effectives, and the remainder are faced with the unpleasant task of recrossing a blazing desert.

Details of the progress of Gen. Smuts's campaign in German East Africa were contained in an official statement issued in London on Monday. The British expedition appears to have entered on the last phase of its operations and the complete occupation of the German colony seems likely to be accomplished before long.

Indications are that the Germans have replenished their supply of submarines. At any rate considerable activity in this form of warfare has been shown during the past ten days. Whether the activity is of such a nature as to override stipulations agreed to in Germany's last Sussex note there is not sufficient evidence to show. The case of the Italian steamship Letimbro, reported on August 4, would, however, appear to warrant investigation. The Letimbro was sunk in the Mediterranean, after half an hour's chase, and reports state that the submarine continued to fire on the boats as passengers and crew were getting into them. Five boats were smashed and a considerable number of lives were lost. Twenty-eight other vessels have been reported torpedoed within the last week: ten British, five Swedish, four Italian, two Danish, two Finnish, two Norwegian, one Greek, one Japanese, and one Dutch.

Indications of better understanding appeared in the news of co-operation of Mexicans with American troops in repulsing the recent raid by bandits on Fort Hancock. Reinforcing this came the news on Friday of last week that Carranza had designated the Mexican commissioners who are to take part in the forthcoming conference. Comment will be found elsewhere on the significance of the First Chief's instructions to his delegates.

Mr. Hughes has begun his campaign in earnest. In a telegram to Senator Sutherland on August 1 he declared himself as personally favoring without qualification an amendment to the Federal Constitution which would give the vote to women. Therein he goes one better than Mr. Wilson, who, on the following day, contented himself with reiterating his endorsement of the position taken on the

question by the Democratic platform. Mr. Hughes began an extensive speaking tour at Detroit on Monday. On Mr. Raymond Robins's endorsement of the Republican candidate, made known in a statement published in Sunday's papers, we comment in our editorial columns.

Struggling gallantly against the *rige mortis*, representative Progressives, assembled at Indianapolis last week, adopted plans for the reorganization and perpetuation of the party. While deciding against holding another national convention for the purpose of supplying the place of the lost leader, they determined to put up an electoral ticket in every State where there is the nucleus of an organization, bearing the name of John M. Parker, of Louisiana, as nominee for Vice-President.

The treaty for the purchase by the United States of the Danish West Indies was signed on August 4 by Secretary Lansing and the Danish Minister. The treaty is subject to ratification by the United States Senate and by the Danish Parliament. By conservative members of the latter the prospective sale has been the subject of bitter criticism.

News of strikes, settled, proclaimed, or threatened, during the past week has almost driven the war from the front pages of Eastern papers. New York's garment strike was settled by compromise on August 3 and work re-commenced on Monday. A street-car strike which threatened to tie up all surface-car traffic in New York, and succeeded in seriously disorganizing it, was proclaimed on Friday of last week, but was virtually settled by Monday. Its spread to the elevated and subway systems, which had been feared, was also averted. The situation in the threatened strike on Eastern railways remains uncertain. The poll of employees taken last week was overwhelmingly in favor of the strike unless their demands were granted, but it appears probable that arbitration will be resorted to, the Federal Government, if necessary, intervening to that end.

Announcement was made on August 2 of the failure of negotiations for a loan to China by the American bankers who were members of the six-power group formed four years ago to finance the requirements of the country.

The execution of Roger Casement was carried out at Pentonville prison on August 3.

Dispatches from London of Sunday's date announced the reappointment of Lord Wimborne as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

The German merchant submarine *Deutschland* left Baltimore on her return trip on the evening of August 2. As we write, no news has come of her since she passed to the open sea, but there were reports on Monday that two submarines had been sighted off the coast of Maine, one of which, it was thought, might be the expected Bremen.

## The Week

It was probably not to the general public that Mr. Raymond Robins hoped mainly to appeal in his long explanation of why he intends to support Hughes. He apparently desired to make an apology to his former associates among the wide-awake Democrats of Illinois, and especially of Chicago, but above all to his fellow-Progressives. To the latter he now states that their party was never a real party. It was only a protest, a revolt, not a "permanent political cleavage." A good many said this from the first. Mr. Robins was quite a time in discovering it. But the overwhelming proof, he now says, was given him two years ago. "Nearly three-fourths of the Progressive voters of 1912 refused to support the Progressive candidates in 1914." Moreover, the "acid test" of party enrolment and voting in the primaries showed the same thing. The voters had decreed it, and there was nothing to do but accept the sad conclusion: "The Progressive party was dead." But Mr. Robins was certainly a lively corpse when he presided over the Convention of the Progressive party at Chicago last month. And in his speech he was very far from assuring his enthusiastic hearers that they were all dead men. Nor when, at the very end, he called for and received pledges of \$100,000 for a party fund, was there any intimation from him that this sum was intended to furnish a first-class funeral for the Progressives. We fear that some of the Progressives who were there will accuse Mr. Robins of holding back, for some mysterious purpose, his knowledge that there was no future for them except in the grave.

We will not dispute the sincerity of Mr. Robins's conviction that by nominating Hughes the Republican party has instantly and completely ceased to be "dominated by the masters of special privilege" who have in times past found it their "instrument of vast exploitation." *Nemo repente.* Neither man nor party can entirely shake off a bad past by one act, and become on the spot altogether pure and lovely. With Mr. Robins it is a case of black or white. In 1912 the Republican party was made up of rogues. Now it is composed of saints. The proof is that Barnes is no longer chairman or boss. But Penrose and Smoot are not known to have ordered their ascension robes. They are still there, to make the Republican party appear a sort of gray, and not the glistening white which is all that Mr. Robins can see. And this campaign, we submit, cannot be

run by advocates of either party as one between all the angels and all the devils.

Few will deny that the state of the law, and the practice, in this country, relating to strikes on what we call Public Utilities, is confused, backward, and unsatisfying. We have made ample provision for mediation and arbitration. Our governmental machinery for investigation has been enlarged. That is wise, for often all that is needed in an industrial dispute is to have the full truth set forth. But we have not yet provided ourselves with any sure means to prevent the immense dislocations and losses caused by a great railway or traction strike. Here is a clear and great public interest not safeguarded. Yet we have long known what Canadian legislation, for example, has done to safeguard it. The plan adopted in Canada is not perfect, but it has made great railway strikes without notice, and without first exhausting all the resources of settlement, virtually a thing of the past. We in the United States will yet have to come to something of that kind—we mean enactments which place Public Utilities in a class by themselves, and erect legal barriers to protect the public against a sudden cutting off of services essential to the ongoing of modern life. Let us hope that we shall not have to pay a great price—the experience of huge and disastrous strikes—for the wisdom necessary to lead our law-makers to take such a step in advance.

Railway brotherhoods deciding upon the question of a strike should not overlook the settlement of one railway difficulty by Federal arbitration. Early in May the telegraphers of the New York Central and Nickel Plate lines determined to strike, but in June signed an agreement to abide by the decision of a board of three under Chairman H. K. Dougherty. The award has been made, and while it grants the telegraphers a liberal increase in wages, vacations with pay, and overtime pay, it does not seem wholly one-sided. This difficulty involved but 3,000 men, but last year a dispute between ninety-eight Western railways and 65,000 engineers and firemen was similarly adjudicated in a satisfactory manner. The railway brotherhoods are said to be strongly in favor of giving their leaders a free hand in calling a strike, and their leaders remarked six weeks ago that they opposed arbitration because of the difficulty of obtaining neutral arbitrators "who knew the intricacy of the issues." But an intricate issue is precisely the sort

that ought to be settled by impartial experts, on reasonable principles, and not by a blind appeal to force.

Mr. Hughes's telegram to Senator Sutherland last week, stating that he favors the Federal amendment granting the vote to women, and hopes that it will be quickly passed, is doubly significant. It shows, in the first place, that he is a complete convert to the suffrage cause; but this was understood in advance. More interesting is the disclosure of his attitude towards the Republican platform. He explains that in his speech of acceptance he did not come out for the Constitutional amendment because his party was not committed to it, but personally he has no objection to letting his stand be known. This is very different from the position which President Wilson took—at first—regarding the Baltimore platform. He told the suffragists that he did not feel at liberty to "start anything" on his individual responsibility. In time, he got bravely over that; and we see now that Mr. Hughes has no hesitation in going outside his party platform. We can hardly share his confidence that the passing of the amendment will "settle" the suffrage question. It certainly will mean something like a political revolution to have Congress declare that the right to vote ought to be given without discrimination on account of sex. But from that to the ratification of the amendment by the States the road will be long and hard.

Senator Penrose echoes Mr. Hughes's attack on Democratic financial management. It has given us a "carnival of debauchery" and pushed us to "the precipice of bankruptcy"; "a bricklayer could have drawn a better revenue measure." But Mr. Penrose was in the last Republican Administration on the Senate Committee of Finance. How zealous a champion of financial reform was he? Though President Taft earnestly urged reform in budgetary procedure, Congressional opposition, centring in the committees that feared loss of power, prevented its making an inch of progress. The Democrats have, in fact, gone farther towards giving it to us than did the Republicans. A committee of the Democratic caucus under Representative Sherley failed only by the narrowest of margins to approve the budget idea and to apply it to the appropriations of the present session. If the Republicans come into power, it is men just like Penrose whose support will not be forthcoming.

It is not easy to make a funeral a happy

occasion, and the Progressives fared no better in attempting it in Indianapolis last week than more ordinary mortals would have done. For all the brave words about November and what may be possible after the election, the corpse continued to look remarkably like a corpse, and not at all like a cavorting bull moose. It seemed impossible that only four years had elapsed since a nation was stirred, in one way and another, by "Onward, Christian Soldiers" and lurid prophecies of Armageddon. From August 5, 1912, in Chicago to August 3, 1916, in Indianapolis, was surely no less than an era. Yet the ruling passion was strong still—it was only "after a heated discussion" that the mourners came to the conclusion that they really did not know what to do. For November, an electoral ticket will be named in a few States, including, as Mr. Perkins will be pained to note, one so desired as Indiana. After November—well, an executive committee of fifteen will meet and try to invent some kind of future for the pygmy that at its birth was destined to take the place of a giant at a jump. There may be boldness in the willingness to be counted in November, but there is also tragedy in the speed with which the Colonel's personal party has reached the point where it may be characterized in his own sarcastic phrase of 1912 as "a small representative class."

The essential thing in the Mexican negotiation is that Carranza announces the appointment of three commissioners to treat with Americans yet to be named. Instructions to devote themselves "preferably to the resolution of the points mentioned in the previous note of this Department" are anything but a refusal of President Wilson's proposal that general matters of importance be discussed at the conference. Naturally, the retirement of the American troops, the Columbus raid, and the protection of the border will be first discussed, but a dispatch from Mexico City says that it is believed there that a way will be found at the joint conference to aid the *de-facto* Government to solve its financial and economic problems. The conference will last several weeks, and all the while matters on the border will be adjusting themselves. Both Mexicans and Americans are less and less subject to irritation, and more and more appreciative of the point of view of each other. And the Carranza forces are increasingly in control of the military situation in Mexico.

Terms of neither the House nor the Senate Child Labor bill, with respect to age

and hours, fully embody the standards fixed by our most advanced States, yet they go farther than the backward ones. Pennsylvania last year prohibited work of any kind for children under fourteen, and night work for more than nine hours a day for children under sixteen. Illinois several years ago provided that no child under fourteen should work at all, and none under sixteen, unless provided with an elementary education. The Congressional bills forbid the working of children under fourteen in workshops, canneries, and factories, and under sixteen in mines and quarries. On the other hand, the proposals are more advanced than the law passed in Alabama last year, where children between fourteen and sixteen are admitted to any labor whatever except that near dangerous machines, or in establishments where liquor is made or sold. The Congressional bills are not of a character to permit the joining of educational requirements with those as to age and hours.

The one idea of Congress is to get through the remaining business of the session and adjourn. We know this, because its members say so almost every day. Yet a good deal of time is being spent in discussion that properly belongs to October and the stump. So serious has this misuse of the precious minutes become that Senators Gallinger and Stone had a two-hour colloquy over it a few days ago. It may be necessary to set aside a day in House and Senate for formal debate on the loss of the valuable hours thus extravagantly expended. Mr. Hughes's speech is the starting point of much of this discussion. For every Democrat who attacks it, two Republicans must defend it. In accordance with the principle of the offensive defensive, Representative Rodenberg last week "arraigned" the Administration for its Mexican policy. Some Democrat should have made a vigorous reply, pointing out that the great trouble with the Mexican character is its tendency to procrastinate. In the bright lexicon of the American, particularly the American statesman, let him declaim, there is no such word as "mañana."

Is Tammany on the verge of a nervous collapse? One day the organization is reported to favor Judge Seabury. The next day Judge Seabury is out of the question and Senator Wagner is positively the only possible candidate. The next day Boss Murphy solemnly discusses running Thomas Mott Osborne for the Governorship—Thomas Mott Osborne, the man who stuck to William

Sulzer through thick and thin in his fight against Murphy and all his works! No, Tammany is not suffering from a genuine case of nerves. The organization is simply indulging playfully in a bit of harmless midsummer madness, and will settle down to business soon enough, when the various candidates have been smoked out. Gov. Whitman is really the man who should feel alarm. Ex-Senator Brackett thinks his Administration has been "inefficient," "bad," and "hopelessly weak," and the Saratoga fire-eater is doubtless one of the 10,000 stalwart Republicans whom Senator Bennett says he has got to sign his Gubernatorial petition. Perhaps this is what leads to the gossip about a deal between Murphy and Whitman—the Governor to have his way this year, and the Tammany boss to have a free field in the Mayoralty campaign next autumn!

Excellent is the point recently scored by the *World* against what it calls Great Britain's self-anointed altruism. This consists in demurring to all criticism from the outside on the ground that Britain is fighting the battle of humanity, and must not be bothered with trifles. It is quite true that the war is laden with grave consequences for the welfare of mankind at large, and that Britain is ranged on the side of civilization. It is also true that the world will go on after the war, and that people in England are aware of this fact. In no other way can the fiasco of the Irish settlement be explained. If nothing but the defeat of Germany mattered, people in the United Kingdom would long ago have forgotten their Ulsterite and Nationalist partisanship and hatreds. Instead we find that the old suspicions and jealousies are alive and that even a war for the defence of humanity is not deemed sufficient occasion to yield a strategic advantage to Belfast or Dublin. If Lord Lansdowne or Lord Selborne cannot give up what he deems his rights in the face of England's great emergency, why should neutrals be called on to give up their own rights?

Maximilian Harden has been busy for a year saying things which should be much more inimical to German morale and ultimate success in the war than the utterances for which Karl Liebknecht has been sent to jail. One explanation may be that Liebknecht's criticisms were fighting speeches, dealing with concrete charges, and formulating definite demands, whereas Harden has fallen more and more into an apocalyptic brooding which can hardly be expected to

reach the understanding or the emotions of the German masses. It is within the German tradition to allow the utmost freedom in philosophic speculation together with the exacting of strict conformity in practical life; it is the internal freedom of which German apologists have made so much. Yet the German Government must be aware that Harden's pessimism with regard to the war will be interpreted abroad to its own disadvantage, and that the tendency will be to regard his highly personal and emotional utterances as voicing the state of mind of the nation. If, nevertheless, Harden is permitted to speak with the utmost freedom, to justify Wilson as against Germany, to say that Russia never can be conquered, to speak of the "admirable upward swing of the French power of resistance," to warn the German people that the earth is not yet to be divided by their conquering swords, and that the coming year has unprecedented misery in store for them, it must be either that Harden has been chosen semi-officially to prepare the German mind for a disappointing peace, or else that the need exists for a safety valve to the doubts and fears which beset the German people.

The designation of von Hindenburg as generalissimo of all the Teuton armies on the eastern front is hardly to be explained as a move to bring the Austrian armies under German control. That has virtually been the fact since von Mackensen began the reconquest of Galicia, and the policy of intermingling German and Austrian army groups was adopted. It is more likely that the new honor has come to von Hindenburg as an expression of confidence from his Emperor and the General Staff at a time when popular dissatisfaction may have expressed itself regarding the old Field-Marshal's inactivity along the northern section of the Russian line. Obviously, the surest way to relax pressure on the Austrians and von Linsingen would be a thrust by von Hindenburg against Riga. There may be very good reasons why this has not been attempted, but they are not likely to be recognized by the man in the street, who is apt to grow disgruntled with his heroes if miracles are not forthcoming at regular intervals. It is not likely that people will pay another mark to extract nails from the famous wooden image, but they may be regretting the mark they paid to hammer them in.

Prince Bülow's new book on "Deutsche Politik"—or, rather, his new edition of the work on that subject which he published in

1913—contains a review of German diplomacy in recent years. Its aim, he declares, was "peaceful development in many domains." And there was no reason, he asserts, why Germany should not have expected the diplomatic crisis of 1914 to be solved peacefully, just as was the crisis of 1908-9. This is really significant. The reference is, of course, to the time when Austria annexed Bosnia. Russia was greatly excited. Sir Edward Grey stated that the annexation was in violation of the Treaty of Berlin, and desired that a European Congress be summoned to pass upon the matter. But the Kaiser displayed his "shining armor" to the Czar, and nothing was done. That the same coup was attempted in 1914 it is fair to assume from Prince Bülow's words. And he seems surprised and grieved that it did not succeed. The difference was that Russia was ready in 1914, as she had not been six years earlier, and that the time had come when the claim of Germany to dominate Europe was to be tested. Prince Bülow agrees with the Kaiser that Germany did not "will this war." No, but she willed something else which led infallibly to the war.

The real significance of the repeated attacks on the northwestern frontier of India is shown in the report by Gen. Sir Beau-champ Duff, commander-in-chief in India. The chief activities have been in the Swat region, just east of Kafirstan, and on the border between Afghanistan and the North-western Provinces. They amount to little but incursions by tribes, always more or less restless and now excited by the preachings of mullahs. In April, 1915, a movement of some 2,400 tribesmen was repulsed; in August, 3,000 or 4,000 tribesmen were thrown back from the Ambela Pass; and at the same time a tribal gathering of some 15,000 men, moving to invade lower Swat, was dispersed after brisk artillery action. Bodies of about 10,000 each were defeated in September and October in the same region, armored motor cars being used for the first time in India. There was trouble also lower down, in Baluchistan, but a stroke from Quetta promptly quelled it. There was a slight outbreak to the east, in Burma, where expeditions were undertaken against some hostile tribes. The uprisings on the frontier of the North-western Provinces seem to have been connected with the fighting against Arabian Mohammedans that was going on at the same time along the Gulf of Oman, where Persia gives way to Baluchistan, and it is

possible that the Arab attacks on Turkey would alone have had a quieting effect.

Reported adoption of a platform by the Flemish People's party is doubtless only another step in Germany's campaign to reawaken the age-long Walloon-Fleming controversy. When the Germans entered Belgium, the Flemish movement had been moribund for almost a generation, all its reasonable demands having been satisfied by laws which practically made Belgium a bilingual state. Flemish particularism ceased to be an acute political issue. But the Germans realized their advantage in stirring up old animosities. Shortly after their arrival in Belgium, they placed Flemish inscriptions on all road and railway signs. Very soon the press began to be full of details of Flemish wrongs and Walloon oppression. A university devoted entirely to Flemish culture, where only Flemish was to be used by the teaching staff, has been suggested. Finally, comes this revitalization of the Flemish People's party, not entirely without encouragement from his Excellency the Governor-General, we presume. It would demand virtual dismemberment of Belgium by the formation of two self-governing states, connected by only the lightest federal ties. This proposal may be a feeler on Germany's part, a suggestion for the division of Belgium as a basis of peace. At any rate, it causes a smile to see Prussians, who have used the strongest measures for suppression of Polish particularism, acting as liberators of the "oppressed" Flemings.

There is some comfort in even an *ex parte* statement by Count von Salis-Seewis, military governor-general of the occupied Balkan territory, that the Servians are not ill-treated by Austria-Hungary. The Count asserts that when he took over the administration, the population was nearly starving, with neither seed nor implements available. Since then ten thousand poor have been maintained in Belgrade alone, the rural districts have been furnished with seed and machinery, and Austria-Hungary is seeing that Servian Government officials, invalids, and families of officers are getting half-pay. He does not conceal the fact that all this is paid for by the Servians themselves. Communal taxes are increased, and a compulsory rate of exchange fixed between Servian and Austrian money. There has been no evidence that either in Austrian Poland or Servia has the Government encouraged such extortion as has been practiced in German Poland.

**ONE RESULT OF THE WAR.**

It is found in the anniversary homilies addressed by the rulers and commanders to the warring peoples. It is expressed or accepted in what the Kaiser says to his seventy million "comrades," in what Poincaré says to France, in what Sir Douglas Haig and Lloyd George have said to the British nation, in what is being doubtless said at Petrograd, Vienna, Constantinople, Rome. Whatever may be the fortunes of war on the battlefield during this coming third year, one definite victory has already been won, one phase of the world's thoughts and feelings after the war has been fixed: the myth of superior and inferior races, of growing and decadent nations, of peoples predestined to rule and peoples predestined to subjection, has been exposed. True is what every ruler has said regarding the devotion, courage, and self-sacrificing effort of his people. If the fight, after two years, is still without decision, it is because every one of the nations has surpassed itself in the prolonged and agonizing test. They have belied their traducers. "Decadent" nations like France have shown what miracles of energy there are in their veins. Inchoate, mob nations like Russia have shown that they are something more than a mob. Disunited countries like the Hapsburg monarchy have shown unsuspected forces of cohesion. Out of the stress and pain of a world-war has come a new vindication of the dignity and strength of humanity.

More of a revelation to the world than the heroic effort of France is the revival of Russia at the beginning of the third year. Russia offers the most destructive refutation of the German-made theories about decadent and mob nations, and of the German-made statistics which proved more than a year ago that the Czar's Empire was done for, so far as the war was concerned. Soon after the Galician disasters of 1915 the German military writers were speaking of the Russian army as a disorganized "soldateska" from which nothing further was to be feared. An impressively detailed arithmetic showed that, in spite of the apparently huge human resources of the Russian Empire, its available fighting men were used up. It was the German habit to speak of the eastern enemy as a barbarian and vermin-ridden nation, capable of little intelligent effort, and certainly without the recuperative capacity that belongs to the higher organisms. And even the friends of Russia must have had their very serious fears after the disastrous

campaigns of 1915. Knowing what one did of Russian bureaucratic methods, of graft in high places, of the backward economic and industrial status, of the lack of railways, factories, skilled labor, and raw war-material, it was a very serious question as to whence were to come the armies, officers, munitions, and supplies for a renewed effort. The answer to all of these queries is not apparent even to-day. But the one sufficient answer is that the thing has happened which by all the generalizations about inferior races and all the statistics inspired by such generalizations never could happen.

What is true of France and Russia is true, though in a minor degree perhaps, of Austria-Hungary. The position of the Hapsburg monarchy is not particularly bright to-day, but we must still read with caution the confident statistics from Allied sources which go to show that Austria is at the end of her tether. These very same predictions were made two years ago after the first defeats around Lemberg, with much emphasis on the proximity of a separate peace and the secession of Hungary, and what not. These prophecies were based on familiar assumptions regarding the Hapsburg monarchy as a loose union of jarring races, which needed only the slightest impact to fall apart. Unquestionably, the separatist influences in the monarchy have counted in the war, but they have been far less significant than the prophets imagined; for history works more slowly and cautiously than the political prophets. There is no more certainty about the doctor's verdict on "dying" nations than there is about the title of the vigorous races to triumph and world-empire.

They came principally from Germany, these theories about survival and decadency, on the basis of which the professors were busy changing the face of the earth. They were founded on a ridiculous anthropology of Aryanism and Teutonism, in which a vast display of scholarship was employed to bolster up the vagaries of the professorial mind. This myth of racial superiority maintained itself in face of the obvious objection that Germany, the bearer of the Teuton's message to the world, was only imperfectly Germanic, that Prussia was largely a Slavic nation. The Kaiser's theorizers overlooked the fact that their own insistence upon German efficiency contained the refutation of their racial speculations. For if Prussian discipline could make equally efficient soldiers and workers out of north Germans in Prussia, south Germans in Bavaria, and Slavs in Posen and Silesia, what became of

the gospel of innate racial superiority and inferiority? More than that, if Austrians, Czechs, Croats, and Turks needed only a touch of Prussianism to become valiant fighters, the vaporings of the Houston Stewart Chamberlains about vigorous and aggressive races, about Teutonism and Latinism, were shown up for what they were worth.

The war has made an end of all this anthropological arrogance. And the application is wider than Europe. There is little heard now of the white man's burden. It has become very difficult to wave off three-quarters of a billion Chinese, Hindus, Filipinos, and Mexicans from the stage of civilization. Out of the vast horror and suffering there has come this gain at least: the establishment of a decent regard for the value of human beings as a whole.

**DO REPRESENTATIVES REPRESENT?**

This is the season for recurring lamentations because democracy seems to believe, politically, in the survival of the unfit. The *Times* is afflicted by the fact that New York State allows itself to be represented in Congress by a group of mediocrities. Professor Bailey, writing in the *Independent*, holds that the trouble with our national legislature is that there are "too many lawyers, and not enough farmers and other folks." Meredith Nicholson, in the *Atlantic*, declares that "we, a self-governing people, permit our affairs to be administered, very largely, by second-rate men."

Professor Bailey compares the occupations of members of Congress, as compiled from the "Congressional Directory," with the census figures for adult males gainfully employed. That Congress is topheavy with lawyers, every one knows, but many will be surprised to learn that, while less than one per cent. of the "adult males gainfully employed" belong to the legal profession, more than 57 per cent. of the members of Congress follow that calling. Business is the profession of 10 per cent., and of 11 per cent. of the afore-mentioned adults; journalism, 6 per cent. in Congress, as against 1 per cent. outside; education, 4 as against 1; real estate and banking, each 2 as against 1. Only 3 per cent. of the members of Congress are farmers, although 30 per cent. of the gainfully employed adults in this country live by agriculture. Representatives from the laboring classes are few—even Meyer London is a lawyer! Professor Bailey concludes that he is justified in speaking of "our misrepresentative Congress."

Mr. Nicholson complains that but rarely do the best men possible for a given office reach it. They are never even considered for thousands of State, county, and municipal elective offices; they do not offer themselves, either because office-holding is distasteful, or because private business is more lucrative. The electors are limited in the choice of candidates for the Presidency to a handful of men. When Mr. Nicholson asked a successful lawyer how to account for the small supply of Presidential timber, he got the reply: "It's because the average American citizen would rather be president of the Pennsylvania Railroad than of the United States." There is danger ahead for the republic, this writer holds, unless we take our politics more seriously, and unless more young men of talent and high aims enter public life.

What are we to do about it? The direct primary, as a means of assisting first-rate men to office, has not yet proved efficient. It is plainly no cure-all. Yet it tends to keep party managers on their mettle, and by so much makes against both corruption and mediocrity. Though seldom viewed from this angle, the short ballot is an agency at work in the same direction. Men of affairs hesitate to offer themselves for high office because they realize that under the present system of checks and balances their authority is limited. The business executive, like the centurion of old, is accustomed to say to this man, Go, and he goeth; and to another, Come, and he cometh; and to his servant, Do this, and he doeth it. But once he becomes Governor and tells a man to go, that man is more than likely to come back with a writ of certiorari; and if he tells another to do this or that, he will receive the reply that it's none of his business. Your man of affairs finds himself constantly hampered in politics, on the one hand by partisan obligation, and on the other by divided authority. In so far as the short ballot tends to do away with unnecessary hobbling, to concentrate both authority and responsibility, and to dignify high office, just so far will it tend to make public life more attractive to those of first-rate powers.

Small salaries have often been advanced as another bar to the competent man who would enter politics. He cannot hope to be paid as much as he might earn in a professional career. The State cannot measure up to the standards of outside employment: cannot offer an attorney-general or a judge the money that a leader of the bar could make in private practice. Furthermore, high pay does not always mean high qualifica-

tions—witness the recent debasement of the Public Service Commission. Nevertheless, the State might wisely make a moderate advance in the compensation of some of its servants. The decision of last summer's Constitutional Convention in New York State to recommend an increase in the salary of the Governor from \$10,000 to \$20,000 was a move in the right direction.

A more insidious deterrent from a public career lies in a man's disinclination to subject himself to gratuitous public attack. The truly big-minded office-holder will rise superior to this, and gird himself against the slings and arrows even of the most outrageous fortune. In a democracy the right of free criticism is so fundamental that we have come to tolerate even its abuse. Recently New York has had to listen to the insinuations of Senator Thompson, who seemed to take delight in slurring the reputations of honest men. They were not really injured by his vilifications, but the damage such reckless slander may in the long run do to the cause of good government is palpably great:

In considering this question, the obligation of fairness in the criticism of public officials becomes manifest. Criticism is the safeguard of the public. No intelligent officer would dispense with it if he could. It is the life-current of democracy. But every one who wields the critical pen or indulges in critical utterances should keenly feel his responsibility. We have a government of laws, and not of men, but a government, after all, is nothing but men. To create a disinclination for public life, to make men feel that its conditions with regard to self-respect and decent reputation are intolerable, to drive men of sensibility away from its opportunities in sheer disgust, and to leave public employment the more accessible to adventurers, to soldiers of fortune, and to political hangers-on, is to fetter progress and to put a premium upon inefficiency.

The words quoted are those of Mr. Hughes, in his Yale lectures. The difficulty of attracting men of eminent ability into public life he finds not insurmountable. "The public should pay fair compensation and should not demand unreasonable sacrifices from those who serve it," he declares, "but to attract good men and to secure efficiency, the honor and independence of the office are of far greater account than the emoluments which attach to it. If it be understood that the administrative head has proper freedom, that he will not be controlled by party organizations, that he will not be required to parcel out places that he is free to fill in order to satisfy the henchmen of political leaders, that he can organize his department on the basis of efficiency and receive credit from a public that is anxious to do honor to a

public officer of conspicuous merit, there will be much less difficulty in attracting men of distinguished ability, as well as of the highest character, to the service of the state."

#### WORLD TRADE AFTER THE WAR.

Last week's discussion in the House of Commons of Allied trade policy after the war naturally could not pass without reference to the United States. Mr. Asquith, speaking diplomatically of "neutrals," was at pains to show that the one-for-all-and-all-for-one economic policy of the Allies was not aimed at us. Sir John Simon, far from discerning a threat against the United States, was afraid that the measures contemplated would shift the centre of world trade from London to New York. The debate, therefore, inevitably calls up what Mr. Hughes had to say in his address of acceptance concerning the economic outlook for this country after the war, when the "temporary prosperity" which has landed us in "a fool's paradise" shall have vanished. In the speeches in the Commons as a whole there is something of the exaggerated vision of the future in Europe that characterized Mr. Hughes's picture of conditions in this country. But there are portions of Mr. Asquith's speech which help us to a saner view of what is likely to happen in Europe when peace comes, and afford a test for the soundness of Mr. Hughes's predictions for this country.

First rumors concerning the plans formulated at the Paris Economic Conference spoke of the absurd scheme of a permanent policy of non-intercourse with Germany and her allies. It was the parallel to what irresponsible fanatics in Germany have been demanding—a perpetual boycott of the Entente nations, a virtual secession of the Central Powers from the circle of civilization, the enclosure of a considerable part of the world behind two Chinese walls. Common-sense is asserting itself. Mr. Asquith was chiefly concerned last week with the period of the war and reconstruction. When it came to permanent measures he was cautious enough. These would be left to each country, so long as they were consistent only with the policy of making the countries of the Entente economically independent of their present enemy countries. And even as to the "supplies" which Mr. Asquith thought it the duty of the Allies to reserve for themselves during the period of war and reconstruction, we take it that the supplies are such as the nations will need for their own rehabilitation. Goods that can be sold with

profit to enemy countries will be sold. We may leave that to human nature.

Under the stress of partisan politics we are inclined to the same distortion of future conditions that Europe is impelled to undergo the emotions born of war. It has become commonplace to speak of the nations of Europe, once released from war, as turning fiercely upon our own markets, old and new, and making a quick end of our fictitious prosperity. Mr. Hughes described in detail how the European peoples, trained to solidarity, discipline, and new productive methods born out of necessity, would make short work of American trade. But his error is in assuming that with the signing of peace the nations of Europe will be ready for the contest. He is wrong in thinking that the methods of production, including the large utilization of woman's labor, which have arisen out of the present supreme effort, can be continued at the same nervous pitch for the purposes of mere trade competition. He is wrong in thinking that in the short space of two years the warring nations have mastered enormously difficult problems, that Germany will be ready to flood the world with synthetic rubber and England with dyestuffs of her own manufacture.

And Mr. Hughes exaggerates when he speaks of the nations of Europe as turning with the grit and solidarity of the battlefield to the conquest of new markets. We have still to see what the temper of the nations will be after the war with regard to their internal problems, the scores they will have to settle with their own rulers, the adjustment of conflicting interests which are now hushed in a "sacred truce."

Always the partisan implication has been that American prosperity to-day is entirely one of war munitions, and that when the war orders from abroad stop, our industries will collapse. Upon this point it is well to consider what Mr. Asquith said last week of the condition in which the war will leave France and Russia, to mention only these two. Northern France, where the industries of the nation are concentrated, and Poland, the factory region of the Russian Empire, are in the enemy's hands. The havoc already wrought has been great. What the further damage will be before the invader is pushed out, mile by mile, it is easy to foresee. It is also easy to foresee that the American factories which are now supplying France and Russia with munitions will be called upon to supply a large share of the material for the rebuilding of their industries.

#### STABILITY IN THE GARMENT INDUSTRIES.

New York may at least rejoice that the cloakmakers' strike has been ended by the workers' full acceptance, with amendments, of the agreement they tore up a couple of weeks ago. The shops have reopened and the leaders of both sides express confidence that the adjustment will have permanence. Whether it will or not depends upon the spirit of the men and the manufacturers. There is no longer a protocol; no longer an impartial board to try to keep in order the machinery for the enforcement of the terms. Each side agrees to discipline its members when they act unfairly, and the fact that each has shown its strength in the recent fight should guarantee a salutary mutual respect. It is also certain that the effects of the struggle have impressively taught the value of peace. On the whole, the city may hope that the agreement may last long enough to make possible more fundamental efforts to put the industry on a basis of prosperity and peace.

Some steps towards a stable condition are embodied in the present agreement. The clauses regarding the preferential shop prescribe a better method for the selection of unionists, while only experienced workers are allowed to serve on shop price committees. The manufacturers agree to register all direct sub-contracting, and to see that the agreement is observed in contractors' shops. From the union point of view, nothing has been more unsatisfactory than the impenetrable maze of relations between contractor and sub-contractor, defying all control. The next work which some manufacturers, some workers, and many outsiders would like to see attempted is roughly represented by the notable effort now under way to stabilize the sister industry of dress and waist manufacture. This industry has also had its disputes. Since 1913 it has worked under a protocol modelled on the older one in the cloak-making trade, and under a Joint Board of Control. There have been shop strikes, troubles in enforcing the preferential union agreement, and difficulties in controlling the "social" shop, all culminating last January in the presentation of complaints and counter complaints by union and manufacturers, and the appointment of arbitrators. Since then there has been born a "Board of Protocol Standards," which is just beginning a wholly new work in scientific study of working conditions and the adjustment of wages and hours to them, and which

is being hopefully supported by both sides.

Three essential offices are operated by this Board of Protocol Standards—an intelligence department, a record department, and the office of a determining and a wage board. The intelligence department has a so-called test shop, and is engaged in ascertaining in it the standard speed of workers in different departments—cutters, drapers, joiners, pressers, finishers—and upon different materials. It computes to a close figure, for example, the comparative difficulty of finishing waists of muslin and silk, of cutting buttonholes in cotton or linen. The work experts are men who know the technical processes, and who can make allowance for the psychological and human elements. It also makes a related study of the most efficient methods of garment manufacture. The record department maintains a corps of inspectors who visit the shops to see that the terms of the protocol about hours, wages per hour or per piece, and sanitary conditions (in regulating which it co-operates with the Joint Board of Sanitary Control) are strictly observed. The reports of these inspectors are tabulated. To the report on working conditions in each shop is added whatever relevant material on methods of work the intelligence department may have compiled. Finally, the determining board passes upon the findings of the intelligence office with regard to the standard speed in the different kinds of work; and the wage board settles the wage rate, largely upon the basis of the work of the intelligence office. Both boards are composed of representatives of workers and manufacturers. It may be asked how this machinery, admirable so far as it goes, will settle vexed questions concerning union preference, the social shop, and so on. The answer is that it should strengthen both union and association and thereby stiffen discipline, and that it should reduce the area of possible disagreement.

How far such machinery is applicable to the cloakmaking trade, it is difficult to determine. The cloakmaking industry is larger, more complicated, and has seen more friction. But, certainly, something of the sort can be attempted. One of the manufacturers' objections to the Board of Conciliation was that it knew nothing of the industry. An office like the Board of Protocol Standards has an opportunity to succeed simply because it knows more about it than any individual manufacturer or union leader. Now that we have a general peace in the cloakmaking industry, the leaders on both sides might well look forward to measures that will make it lasting.

## Foreign Correspondence

THE ALLIES' NOTE TO GREECE—A REVIEW OF THE SITUATION.

By JOHN A. HUYBERS.

ATHENS, June 25.

After little more than seven months' existence, the Skouloudis Ministry, formed to carry out the King's personal policy, comes to an end. The protecting Powers, England, France, and Russia, though undoubtedly acting in their own interests, could, as the original guaranteeing Powers of the integrity and independence of the Greek kingdom, assume the right to call the Government and country back to the constitutional régime, which had been abrogated since February, 1915, when the King, forcing the resignation of the responsible Ministry elected by a large majority, assumed "the divine right" to direct for the future the foreign policy of the country as he saw fit.

The end came on Wednesday, June 21, with a message—what one of the present outgoing Ministers appointed by the King described as "an ultimatum of the most energetic description"—presented by the Ministers of England, France, and Russia. The message issued as a broad-sheet at one P. M. Wednesday was not only an ultimatum to the Greek Government, but also a message to the Greek people.

The atmosphere had been tense for the last few days, and the issue of the broad-sheet created a sensation in Athens. It was snapped up and eagerly read, people leaving their work or rather their rest—for between midday and 3 P. M. is the rest hour—to read and hear it read. The message seemed to act as a tonic and put people on their feet; on the whole it was well received and seemed to bring a sense of relief.

There was nothing more to be feared now that the intentions of the Allied Powers had been made known, and in that part of the note that ceased to be an ultimatum and became a message to the Greek people, it was acknowledged by all that the arraignment of the present unpopular Government and the unconstitutional régime of the last seventeen months was clearly outlined and not harsher in statement than the expressions of their own liberal press and of Venizelos in the *Kiryx*.

At ten A. M. Mr. Zaimis went to Tatoi, the King's summer palace near Athens, and while he was there Mr. Skouloudis was summoned, arriving hastily at half-past eleven. Towards one o'clock the Ministers of France and England called at the Foreign Office and in Mr. Skouloudis's absence left the note of the Allied Powers with Mr. Politis, the Director-General. As Italy was not one of the original guaranteeing Powers when Greece became an independent kingdom, the Italian Minister had not signed the note with the Ministers of England, France, and Russia, but Count Boudari arrived shortly after to present the Italian note, expressing complete agreement with the note just presented by the three Powers. To Mr. Skouloudis remained the puerile satisfaction of refusing the note and directing Mr. Politis to return it to the Ministers of France and England.

At 6:30 P. M. Mr. Skouloudis presented the

written resignation of the Ministry. The Ministers had recognized the absolute urgency of acceding at once to all the demands of the Powers and strongly urged the King to submit to necessity to which "even the gods bow." Here was an end of the King's personal policy and his exercise of the divine right.

*Humpty Dumpty sat on a wall, Humpty Dumpty had a great fall,  
All the King's horses and all the King's men  
Could not put Humpty Dumpty up again.*

To understand the present situation it may be well to recapitulate the events of the last eighteen months. But the main fact underlying all else remains, that the King had a personal policy to carry out, regardless of its being contrary to the policy of the liberal majority in the Chamber as in the country. The King's policy, carried out by creatures of his own appointment, has led Greece into the present impasse.

The Powers of the Entente had believed that public opinion in Greece, which in the great majority favored the Allies, would finally make itself felt and oblige the King to alter his policy, but events have so far proved that the King and his état-major remained in control of the country and its foreign policy. The Allies have now perceived their mistake and have proceeded to harsher measures to convince the King and the country that has submitted so passively to him of their displeasure.

The King had personally been convinced from the beginning of ultimate German victory; his sympathies—not to dwell on those of the Queen—were emphatically on the German side, and as an additional motive to follow his own policy was the fact that it counterchecked that of the man against whom he has a most bitter personal antagonism, Venizelos. The Liberal leader believed in the final success of the Allies, and in the benefit to Greece, and the greater Greece to be, of joining the Entente, and had been returned to power by the people for the express purpose of carrying out his policy.

For the King to have been mistaken in his belief, insisting on carrying out his own policy—that of thwarting the Allies covertly in all possible ways, as he could not openly declare for Germany—and allowing himself to be governed by a personal rancor at such a juncture, proves that he was not a man big enough for the situation, and as a consequence he has compromised not merely the safety of his crown and dynasty, but, what is immeasurably more important, the present safety and well-being of the country and the promised expansion of Greece after the war.

In February, 1915, there was no indication that the majority in the Chamber and the Venizelos Ministry that it supported had ceased to be in harmony with public opinion. United in privy council, all previous heads of the Government advised the King to follow Venizelos's policy. Theotokis, the previous Prime Minister, alone expressed a dissenting opinion as to the wisdom of the policy, but he admitted that he was in opposition to public opinion and recommended the King to follow the advice of the responsible Ministry in power. Mr. Gounaris, sent for by the King, advised the resignation of Venizelos and new elections. He had no ground for believing in good faith that he would be approved by the people in opposing to the policy of Venizelos not his own, but the personal policy of the King. The elections took place on May 31.

The people condemned by a large majority the Government of Mr. Gounaris and pronounced in favor of the recall of the Liberal party. The victory of the Liberals was all the more significant because their chief had not participated in the contest.

Since the declaration of the European war the Government of the Liberals had postulated as one of the principles of its foreign policy not to allow Bulgaria to attack Greece's ally Servia for the purpose of altering the conditions established by the treaty of Bucharest. When the divergence of opinion between the King and Venizelos arose as to the participation in the Dardanelles expedition, that divergence did not extend—at least it was not so declared on the part of the King—to any other point of foreign policy. And this basic principle of the Liberal party, not to allow Bulgaria to attack Greece's ally, had not only so far been approved by the King, but had had the result of preventing any such attack.

After the elections of May 31, 1915, in spite of the vote of disapproval recorded by the people, the Government of Mr. Gounaris, instead of withdrawing from power so soon as the result of the elections was made known, remained in an unconstitutional manner seventy days longer. During that interval it did not cease to proclaim through its press its indifference to the popular vote, to threaten the new Chamber with dissolution, and to affirm that the Crown was not bound by the first popular vote, but could insist on a second and a third and so on, so long as it disapproved of the verdict. And everybody remembers the threatened foundation of a new military league to carry out the Crown's wishes, and the talk of a *coup d'état*. Wiser counsels, however, for the time being prevailed; Mr. Gounaris withdrew, and Mr. Venizelos was recalled to power, but not for long. The day the mobilization of Bulgaria was announced, the pronounced divergence of opinion between King and Premier was again manifest.

Mr. Venizelos insisted on Greece's obligation to aid Servia, and respectfully called the attention of the King to the violation of the constitutional régime in the refusal of the Crown to allow the responsible Government to carry out its programme. The Premier had then to listen to the theory that if the popular verdict sufficed for the solution of questions of interior policy, it did not suffice for the larger questions of foreign policy; there the monarch considered himself responsible to God alone, and he intended to follow the course of action that he judged to be most advantageous to the country. Mr. Venizelos was obliged to submit his resignation, for the second time that year, on October 5.

In order to attenuate the effect on the Allies of this enforced resignation, a Ministry was composed of ex-Premiers under the presidency of Mr. Zaimis, a capable and honest statesman, whose pledge of a benevolent neutrality was believed in by the Powers. During the short time that Mr. Zaimis was in power, he inspired the confidence of the Allies in the sincerity of Greece. But the Zaimis Ministry fell, being replaced by that of Skouloudis, and the dissolution of the Chamber and the elections of December 6 followed. The Liberal party abstained from the elections, the only form of protest left open to them short of a revolution. A fiction of a Chamber was elected, and the arbitrary régime that then exercised power only came to an end with the ultimatum of the Allies on June 21, and the fall of the Skouloudis Ministry.

## IMPENDING PREPAREDNESS—THE NEXT WAR.

By STODDARD DEWEY.

PARIS, July 22.

"To neutrals we recommend these studies of General Skougorevsky." Thus J. W. Bienstock, one of our oldest foreign correspondents in Paris who has translated Tolstoy into French to the verge of completeness, winds up his summary of the General's study in *Paris Opinion*. For, it seems, "military writers are already preoccupied with the future war—the armed conflict that shall follow in order of time the present war." General A. P. Skougorevsky is a man of undisputed scientific attainments in all that concerns tactics and strategy—and he has thought it worth while to publish an important study of the whole subject in the *Rousskoïe Slovo*. American neutrals might give passing attention to what the Russian General foresees.

This next war is to break out by so much the sooner as the present war will be incompletely ended by the Allies. If Germany is not vanquished definitely, if Europe cannot have real and efficacious guarantees that make it impossible for Prussia to repeat her aggression, then we have to foresee a new war before twenty years are over. And meanwhile all countries will arm themselves feverishly.

Such is the impending preparedness. Such is the European house built by sheer force of defence against the Central Empire, which has itself been built by might of conquest, its people trained to think such might right by Prussians whose "trade is war," said open-eyed Mirabeau. And the building has gone on while peace congresses were shedding ineffectual light on disarmament in wrong places.

No one ever heard of such a war as this new war shall be. That is the way with all wars for those who live them, says General Skougorevsky. "I remember Sebastopol when I was a child. They said then such war had never been. It lasted near four years. The balls fell like hail at the unbelievable distance—of six-tenths of a mile. Before that, gunshots did not carry more than three hundred yards and men laughed at such long-distance aim, saying it was too far to aim at a three-story house."

"At the time of the war of 1866 between Austria and Prussia, I was an officer. The prodigious effect of fire-arms was already proclaimed and how they would dominate battle. Souvaroff's favorite saying, 'The ball is a fool, the bayonet is brave,' now seemed a heresy. During that war, Prussia spent nigh two million thalers a day. 'Two millions a day!' people said. 'No one ever saw such a war.'

"The Franco-German war of 1870-1871 was also in its day unbelievable. The Germans had brought into France nearly a million soldiers. The war called out such a tension of all the military forces of the countries at war that it seemed men could go no further."

So far the Russian General.

Neutral Europe looked on lazily and without heed and the United States did not interfere in what was not her business, although two million inhabitants from time immemorial of Alsace and Lorraine were transferred against their will and their feelings from one Government to another—by right of conquest. The notion that the right to govern, or just powers of government, should depend in any

way on the consent of the governed passed out of fashion. Experienced Emperor Francis Joseph congratulated new Emperor William on having annexed an open sore to his dominions.

After that war, all the nations followed Germany's lead and set themselves to increasing their armaments. The army was to be the people armed—and the peoples spoke of the next war. It has come, and nothing like it had been foreseen, except in part by the new empire which led the figures of the dance. Idealists foresaw disarmament—and without arms every child knows we must make peace. The new empire, whose right is conquest, knew it too, but misreckoned the force of arms which peoples resolved to be free find in the depths of their need.

General Skougorevsky thinks the next war will not be like that—for the peoples will know at last how to prepare for war. In ten years, the population of Russia will be more than 200,000,000; that of Germany will reach 100,000,000—and so Russia will call out, in case of war, more than 40,000,000 men and Germany 20,000,000 men.

For an army of 40,000,000 men, you must have at least 300,000 officers. You cannot have always on hand such a body of trained officers—therefore there must be compulsory service to train officers as well as soldiers. All college and high-school boys, willy nilly, must be obliged to serve as officers. Services at the rear, too, will demand an enormous permanent staff and—where women can serve—young unmarried women and widows without children must undergo obligatory service, so that as many men as possible may go to the front. As hands for the agriculture and industry which keep the country alive are necessary, there must be obligatory service there too.

An army of 40,000,000 soldiers ought to have at least 100,000 big guns and 1,000,000 machine guns and hundreds of thousands of automobiles. And you can never again begin war without having ready to hand at least 50,000,000 shells and 5,000,000,000 rifle-balls—not to speak of aeroplanes and dirigible balloons. Long-distance cannon will be made to bombard Dover from Calais, for example. Plans of fortifications over hundreds of miles will be worked out—during peace. All materials and machinery will be prepared beforehand and, at first mobilization, all such fortifications will be constructed in a few days.

All this preparation for the next war will pull so taut every economic and financial force of the nations, and the questions it will raise will be so complicated, that a new organ of government will have to be created—*The Ministry of War Preparation*. All inventions, manufactories, and mills and workshops, and even workmen at home, will be militarized the moment war is declared—and this, too, has to be worked out during peace. And during peace there must be made immense stores of wheat and the whole country must be covered with sheds and cattle parks; and there must be a standing army of agents, inspectors, controllers, to secure and supervise all this organization.

"These are only details," says General Skougorevsky. "The one thing beyond dispute is that the next war will be immeasurably more terrible than all those which went before. The instruments of destruction will be such that those of to-day will be but child's play to them. The dead will be counted by millions and the wounded by tens of millions. If the war lasts more than a year, no one and noth-

ing in the world can save the countries at war from depopulation and ruin."

Such a war, concludes General Skougorevsky, is inevitable unless Germany is vanquished completely. But, if Germany is vanquished, we may foresee a general agreement among the Powers to reduce armaments and the institution of an international tribunal. Who shall make the decisions of such a tribunal respected?

"Public opinion," General Skougorevsky takes it on himself to answer—for, after Germany is defeated, there will be in Europe a will of justice and peace. All who wish justice and peace ought to wish, and doubtless do wish, the triumph of the Allies—though some a little abstractly. Therefore, says the Tolstoyan, "we recommend to neutrals General Skougorevsky's study."

## A DEFENCE OF THE IRISH EXECUTIONS.

By JAMES F. MUIRHEAD.

LONDON, July 18.

It did not require exceptional insight to foresee that the justice and wisdom of the recent executions of Irish revolutionists would not be universally recognized in the United States. We in England can understand and even share in the deep regret of America at the death of these gallant but misguided youths; but we are convinced that it is largely owing to a misapprehension of the situation that this feeling has taken so strong a hold on the American imagination. If Americans had possessed the full evidence on which the British authorities in Ireland acted, they would have been moved to sympathy, not only with the victims, but also with the men of like nature to themselves who felt compelled by their supreme duty to their country to go through unflinchingly with a very unpalatable task.

Consider the situation. Great Britain was involved in a war affecting the very existence of her empire; a war for the successful outcome of which she needed (to all appearance) every ounce of her strength. Those who joined in an attack on her at this moment could not be considered merely as rebels or revolutionaries, they necessarily took on the appearance of treasonable conspirators. And this treachery was directed not merely against England, but in effect against the great mass of the Irish themselves. In the war with Germany England has had the sympathy of the bulk of the Irish people. The gallant sons of Ireland were fighting in the forefront of the British lines; there were probably one hundred Irishmen in the trenches of France for every Sinn Feiner who fired a shot against England. Ireland was peaceful and prosperous. The healing of the old sore of Home Rule seemed at hand. At this moment, without warning, without the previous knowledge of the great mass of Irishmen, a bloody rising took place in Dublin, in which the customary rules of war, respect for the lives of non-combatants, and consideration for private property were all largely ignored. The interests of Ireland alone demanded that the revolt should be promptly and finally suppressed, and this could be accomplished only by stern measures resolutely carried out.

There probably never was a revolutionary rising in which the culpability of the leaders

and of the led differed so fundamentally. All the evidence goes to show that the number of those who knew that a serious outbreak was fixed for Easter Monday was actually and relatively very small. The readiness of some even of this small number was artificially engineered by the methods of a few arch-conspirators, including the deliberate forgery of a document intended to prove that the "Castle" was about to provoke an outbreak by arresting Sinn Fein leaders and seizing their premises. This seems to have been the match that set the whole thing ablaze. England was driven to believe that only a small handful of men were guilty of what Mr. Redmond described as this "deadly blow at Home Rule," and that undue leniency would have been unfair to the rest of their fellow-countrymen. The Nationalist party was vigorous in its demand that the rebellion should instantly be suppressed. Moreover, the rising was in every way so harebrained, the moment of it so peculiarly unpropitious, that it seemed natural to think that the element of common-sense among the Irish in general (a belief in which blinded the authorities to the likelihood of an outbreak) would be strong enough to regain its balance very speedily.

The accompaniments of the outbreak were such as to provoke strong reactions on the part of those concerned with its suppression. In many instances (since proved up to the hilt) unarmed men were seized and shot without any justification. In several of these cases the victims were not even the wearers of uniforms, but were ordinary shopkeepers and other civilians, put to death in this manner because they did not "clear out" quite fast enough to please the rebels or because they refused to help in constructing barricades. Five unprotected and unsuspecting members of the Volunteer Training Corps (Veterans) were killed on their way back from a route march and seven were wounded by a volley fired "into the brown" from a house at the corner of the Haddington Road—their first intimation that anything unusual was happening. An unarmed watchman was shot because he hesitated, for a fatal moment, to open the door he was supposed to guard. Many unarmed soldiers, wandering irresponsibly about Dublin, were shot at sight. A Sinn Feiner fired without warning on an unarmed officer returning from the Fairy House Races in a taxicab. The officer fell at once on the floor of the cab, and the Sinn Feiner fired five more shots at his companion, Mrs. Fleming, three of which took effect. There are chapter and verse for a long and sickening list of similar cases. In all about 100 officers and soldiers were killed by the rebels, and about 450 wounded; 200 civilians were killed and over 1,700 wounded. The list of fourteen or fifteen ringleaders, taken red-handed and shot, does not bulk very large in comparison with these figures.

The ammunition used by the Sinn Feiners was very largely of an illegal and cruel nature. Many different kinds of flat-nosed (some in their original German packets), round-nosed, and split-nosed bullets were captured on their persons; also shotgun cartridges, often filled with buckshot.

There is little analogy between this rising and the gallant but abortive attempts associated with the names of men like Robert Emmett, Wolfe Tone, and Edward Fitzgerald. The admitted grievances that faced those men had practically disappeared; and this artificially fomented outbreak was directed ra-

ther against the expectations of Home Rule of the great majority of Irishmen than against the crimes of England. There is no need to deny or minimize the idealism of the young Plunketts and McDonagh's; but even the most high-minded of idealists, if he tries to attain his aims by the methods of the ruthless butcher, must accept the penalties for the one as well as the admiration for the other. We cannot forgive treason because the traitor is a gentleman. One cannot exaggerate the pity of it—the cutting short of gallant young careers on their very threshold, the practical impossibility of taking into consideration the finer elements in the amalgam, the enforced closing of one's heart against the natural sympathy for naïve, almost childlike, guilt. But if a youth of under twenty has the precocious power of leading hundreds of men into deeds of violence, he becomes as it were the epitome of all their ages; the moulder and wielder of mature men achieves himself the responsibilities as well as the privileges of maturity.

We live in deeds, not years; in thoughts, not breaths; in feelings, not in figures on a dial.

#### A MINISTERIAL DILEMMA.

By SIR HENRY LUCY.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, July 20.

Throughout last week there was an exceptional measure of room on the Treasury Bench for Ministers in attendance at question time. This arose in consequence of the enforced temporary absence of four members of the Cabinet. Mr. Tennant, having received well-merited promotion after service admirably performed as Under-Secretary of War, has in commonplace fashion, in accordance with an antique legislative enactment, gone to seek re-election at the hands of his pleased constituency. Mr. Lloyd George, having added a turn to a kaleidoscopic Ministerial career by becoming Secretary of State for War, and his faithful henchman, Mr. Montagu, being shifted to the Munitions Department, were equally subjected to the pains and penalties of an effete statute. The absurdity and inconvenience of such procedure was, however, too patent for sufferance. Accordingly, a special act of Parliament will be added to the statute book indemnifying them against damages incurred by non-observance of the existing law. Pending the rushing through both houses of the bill, they are not permitted to take their seats on the Treasury Bench.

Investigation of the legal situation brought to light a startling fact. When, upon Sir Edward Carson's resignation of the Attorney-Generalship, his colleague, the Solicitor-General, was promoted to the office, he should, in obedience to the statute alluded to, have submitted himself for re-election. By an oversight which Sir Edward Carson (a party to the infirmity) justly declared was remarkable in the highest legal authority, Sir F. E. Smith has in defiance of the law, sat throughout the session, speaking and voting, thereby incurring pecuniary penalties amounting to £140,000. Here is a pretty pickle for the head of the English bar to find himself in. Had the Common Informer known the secret, he would certainly have brought his action, as he did last year in the case of a private member equally innocent of intent

to break the law. Happily, it was disclosed only when the Prime Minister brought in a bill including the Attorney-General in the indemnification sought and obtained on behalf of the Secretary of State for War and the Minister of Munitions.

The affair, regrettable as undermining wholesome belief in the infallibility of Ministers, will serve a useful purpose, if it paves the way for the removal of a vexatious anomaly. Necessity imposed upon members of the House of Commons to seek re-election on acceptance of office is sound in principle, and at the time of its enactment was useful in practice. In the good old times whence the statute dates, Ministerial offices, like Norfolk's master, were bought and sold. At the present day, even in the ungovernable passion of party polemics, no such charge is ever whispered in connection with admission to the Ministerial circle or promotion within its orbit. Nevertheless, with a few exceptions, acceptance of Ministerial office automatically vacates a seat and the new Minister must needs go back to his constituents and seek re-election, even though, as happens in the case of the formation of a Ministry after a general election, he may, a week earlier, have been triumphantly returned at the top of the poll.

The inconvenience attendant upon operation of this musty statute is illustrated by the necessity of introducing special legislation for relief of three Ministers. It is capable of far-reaching disturbance of the public service. It was directly responsible for the growth and ultimate predominance of the Bradlaugh difficulty, which at the outset of the Parliament of 1880-85, to whose leadership Mr. Gladstone had been returned by an overwhelming majority, irreparably undermined the personal authority of the Prime Minister and incidentally led to the creation of the fourth party and all it meant as an influence in public affairs for the succeeding six years. When, during the process of swearing in, the member for Northampton presented himself and claimed the right to make affirmation, the Prime Minister and all his colleagues were away seeking re-election. Had he been present at the critical moment, his authority would have been sufficient to settle the matter and avert a long sequence of events disastrous to himself and disturbing to the course of public business. The Financial Secretary of the Treasury, sole representative of the Government, possessed no such authority. Under the shrewd management of Wolff and Gorst, presently reinforced by Lord Randolph Churchill, a mere incident was converted into a portentous event.

While Mr. Balfour led the House of Commons he found occasion to throw across the table hint of his readiness to bring in a bill repealing the act controlling the re-election of Ministers if it might be regarded as a non-contentious measure. For inscrutable reason Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, leader of the Opposition, did not seize the opportunity. It has been lost again in the drafting of the bill which passed through all its stages in the House of Commons on Thursday. This is a temporary measure extending for duration of the war, but limited to the cases of the Secretary of State for War, the Minister of Munitions, and the Attorney-General. It would have been much better to make a clean sweep of an act of Parliament which has outlived its usefulness and is fraught with mischief to public service.

## Psycho-Analysis and Sex-Psychology

By WARNER FITE.

"*Psychology of the Unconscious*"\* is the translator's title for "*Wandlungen und Symbole der Libido*." In this book Dr. Carl Jung, of Zurich, psychiatrist and psychologist of the Freudian school, presents some five hundred-odd pages of incoherence and obscenity in the form of a psycho-analytic interpretation of the experiences of a sentimental young American woman (published in a French journal of psychology), who wrote verses and believed herself to be inspired. From these seemingly harmless confessions as a point of departure, Jung develops a theory of myth and poetry, with illustrations extending from Homer and the Hindu and Egyptian mythology to Longfellow and Anatole France, according to which—if we are to take him at his word—every statement not strictly of the order of "The day is warm" or "This is a chair" (if, indeed, such statements are not also to be included) is the expression of a motive not merely sexual, but incestuous.

Through a fortunate oversight, due to the translator's change of title, I have been anticipated in the review of this new Dr. Casaubon's "Key to All Mythologies." In the article on "Freudian Fairy Tales" in the *Nation* of July 6 the reader will find a review, precisely to the point, of the article of Jung which furnishes the basis of this work, and for the rest of the work he may consult the review of Ricklin (also of Zurich) in the same article; for "Ricklin" merely substituting "Jung." The writer of the review dismisses the method of psycho-analysis with the polite concession that Jung and the other Freudians may be talking sense in their own field. I shall treat Jung's book as an excuse for questioning that concession.

### I.

The Freudian psychology may be briefly summarized in the formula that no human action is without a meaning. When my typewriter writes "Indiana" instead of "Indian," most psychologists would allow me to plead blind and meaningless habit, induced, say, by several years of residence in Indiana and by the custom of writing that name at the top of my letters. Not so the Freudian. According to him, whether I know it or not, I am meaning "Indiana," and he is curious to know why. And when, like half of those in the teaching profession, I find myself unable to recall the name of the former student who greets me warmly on the street, that, too, has a meaning—namely, that I have a grudge against him. Likewise, if I dream of my father's funeral, it means that I am, or at some time have

been, in a hurry to have his funeral take place. And in like manner the muscular contractions of a patient suffering from hysteria are not merely muscular, but significant; they are definitely purposeful attempts to fulfil a wish. Every human action, however trivial or accidental it may seem, is the expression of a meaning, which is also a wish; and where no wish is in evidence, it is the expression of an unconscious wish.

The wish is invariably a sexual wish. At any rate, it is clear that Freud considers all explanations incomplete until the sexual motive is found. Brill, disciple and translator of Freud, reproaches Freud's American critics for failing to understand that by "sex" he means all that we mean by "love"; and Jung's translator is careful to tell us that Jung has broadened the Freudian conception of "libido" from mere sex into a universal "life-impulse." One need not quarrel with these definitions. It is sufficient to say that, whether Brill talks about love, or Freud about sex, or Jung about the life-impulse, their illustrations of the motive fundamental to all human wishes are of the same order; not merely sexual, but abnormal and obscene. Jung, indeed, proposes an edifying theory, according to which all of the mechanical arts are but the by-product of sexual abnormality.

But the wishes are not all upon the surface. The Freudian cleaves each of us neatly into two parts, a conscious self and an unconscious self, who play the parts, respectively, of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde. Each of us carries within his spiritual vitals, so to speak, a demon of vileness and indecency whose presence we (i. e., our more respectable conscious selves) wholly fail to suspect, until we are enlightened by psycho-analysis. Of the two it seems that the unconscious self is the more clever and knowing—in the Freudian psychology the conscious self is always a fool. Evidently the demon is actuated, not by lust alone, but by the love of mischief; for it seems that his great delight in life is not merely to obtain sexual gratification (which he seems to enjoy only in the world of imagination), but to obtain it surreptitiously, by imposing upon the innocence of the conscious self. Thus he commits the conscious self to embarrassing lapses of the tongue, betraying an obscene or malevolent preoccupation, and in poetry and in dreams he veils gross and abnormal inclinations under apparently innocent imagery. He gratifies an incestuous longing by dreaming of a stairway.

Conversely, since the discovery of the unconscious self, it has been shameful to dream of a stairway. "*In vino veritas*," is the Freudian motto. Who is the real? Not the personality expressed in sober and reflective judgment; not the conscious self, but the demon that rules when I am off my guard. According to Freud, the function of the conscious self is merely "sensory"; that is to say, he merely reflects—and wonders at—the wishes of the unconscious self.

Yet, strangely, he also exercises censorship and control over the unconscious self,

compelling the latter to gratify his lusts in devious ways. And this control results in a certain repression of desire, a conflict between the conscious and the unconscious selves, which, when intense, manifests itself in hysteria. The Freudian psychology, we must remember, is the psychology of hysteria; and it was in the treatment of hysteria that Freud developed the celebrated method of "psycho-analysis." Psycho-analysis consists in making the patient conscious of his repressed desires, or in bringing the conscious and the unconscious selves together. An important feature of the method is the interpretation of the symbolism of his dreams, according to the cipher elaborated by the Freudians. When his secret desires are thus brought home to him, the conflict ceases, and he is cured.

How this result, not quite remote from common human experience, is, or ought to be, brought about, the Freudian does not clearly explain. The simple method of gratifying the desire, even the Freudian admits to be not always feasible. For such cases he proposes "sublimation"; which means, I take it, that the patient is to fool himself by a poetic, or make-believe, gratification. In general, however, it may be said that the Freudian method of "catharsis" is to ask the censor at least to make it easier for the unconscious self.

Such, in outline, is the Freudian psychology; the psychology of an underworld, weird, grotesque, uncanny, and bestial; recalling, in the Hell within us, the cosmology of Dante's "Inferno." To the Freudian it stands for a triumphant achievement of modern exact science.

### II.

Doubtless the reader has noted the self-congratulation of the hen after laying an egg. Nothing in the world expresses so perfectly the sense of original achievement. Were the hen a hopeful subject for psycho-analysis, we might expect to convince her that her consciousness of originality is the expression of an unconscious aversion to the achievements of other hens and to commonplace fact.

Similar reflections are suggested in the attempt to apply the process of psycho-analysis to the Freudian psychologists. Judging them from the point of view of ordinary psychology, we might dismiss their eccentricities with the reflection that, as specialists in psychiatry, they may be insufficiently in touch with psychological theories and insufficiently practiced in the observation of normal mental life, with perhaps a bias in favor of the kind of phenomena immediately before them. Upon the Freudian theory, however, it seems necessary to postulate an unconscious longing for the sensational (connected with what sexual preoccupation, I shall not venture to say) which manifests itself in the practice of caricature. Only thus can we explain the novelty attached to their discovery of the wish as father to the thought and of the elements of conflict and repres-

\**Psychology of the Unconscious*. By C. G. Jung. Translated by Beatrice Hinkie. New York: Moffat, Yard & Co. \$4 net.

sion; a novelty which, to students of James's "Psychology," published in complete form ten years before the first edition of Freud's dream-book, and of Dewey and Stout, not to speak of Schopenhauer and Wundt, will be otherwise unintelligible. Thus also must we explain Freud's naive suggestion that perhaps the conflicts and repressions disclosed by hysteria have an unsuspected application to normal life. As long ago as Aristotle, philosophers were wrestling with the question, whether consciousness without disturbance is inherently conceivable; and Aristotle's answer is given in his conception of God. As for the "censor," to those familiar with the theory of "apperception" of Leibnitz or Kant or, more recently, of Stout, he is an old acquaintance. The whole of the psychology of the "mental-activity" school is based upon the view that, even in ordinary perception, the mind, instead of passively recording impressions or suggestions, is actively engaged in selecting and transforming them, rejecting the false and irrelevant; and that by this process alone do we keep our world straight.

The Freudian's contribution consists in converting the suggestions rejected or suppressed, the leavings of the conscious self, into a second fully organized personality, a demoniacal Alter Ego, crafty and mysterious, lustful and malevolent. This sensational result he accomplishes through a caricature of the difference between the conscious and the semi-conscious, or the less conscious, or between the normal and the less normal, and by the choice of the latter as his point of departure. He begins with the analysis of neurosis and, having discovered the similitude of a demon, he then shows that ordinary forgetting is a phenomenon of the same abnormal kind; had he begun with the forgetting, he might have shown that the mental disturbances of neurosis are only an extreme form of what is common to normal life. For it needs no subtle introspection to see that the hard and fast division of the person into a conscious and an unconscious self is from the beginning false. What we find is one person, conscious in infinite varieties of degree. Every man knows that there are days when he is exceptionally alert, able to concentrate his attention easily upon a given task and to see at a glance all the relevant details, and other days when he seems to be groping for them. There are times within every day when we rejoice in a difficult problem, and other times when it is pleasanter to indulge in reverie. The Freudians love to think of our mind-wandering and day-dreaming as an incursion of the demon, with his sexual preoccupations, into otherwise normal life; but, calmly considered, day-dreaming is as normal to mental life as sitting down to physical life. And no theory of demoniacal possession is needed to explain why we are mentally fresher and more vigorous at some times than at others.

One who attends carefully to the less alert moments of one's waking life may easily find there, in mitigated form, among the quite normal phenomena, most, if not all, of the

phenomena of the abnormal, including hysteria and dreams. Among the hysterical we may classify the stubborn fool, bound to have his own way without regard to what is dictated by reason; and this class, broadly considered, includes every one of us in all but the moments of calmest reflection. To illustrate the dream in normal life, I offer the following commonplace personal experience, which had hardly been noted had I not just been reading Freud's book of dreams. Several years ago I accompanied an elderly relative, at the end of her visit of a few months at my home in a Middle-Western town, some fifty miles on a connecting road, for the purpose of seeing her safely on the through train to her home in the East. Returning late in the afternoon, very tired and dull, but far from asleep, I recalled a piece of news lately heard, and the next moment I found myself formulating the sentence: "That will interest [my relative]; I must not forget to tell her at dinner to-night." A friend has told me that he remembered, as a boy of ten, when riding home from his mother's funeral, anticipating the pleasure of telling his mother about the funeral. Examining these illustrations, which any one can parallel, you will find all the conditions required for the dream that one has seen a deceased or absent friend; it is necessary only to forget that the friend is dead, or absent. In the waking life we either do not forget, or, according to the measure of our consciousness at the time, the lapse is so quickly corrected as hardly to be noticed.

Still, says the Freudian, the suggestion itself points to an underlying wish. This is a nice point; but let it be granted. I venture to doubt whether any wish finds expression in a dream of which the individual is not more or less conscious in his waking life; or, to be specific, whether any one has sexual dreams who is not conscious of sexual desire in his waking life. And for confirmation I will refer the reader to the cases of hysteria reported by Freud and Brill, which seem almost to follow a fixed formula: "At this point" (after a long psycho-analytic cross-examination) "the patient broke down and confessed"—usually that for some time past her whole life had been filled with erotic thoughts, due to unsatisfied desire. Evidently, the desires fulfilled in dreams are not different from those of the waking life.

Yet, again urges the Freudian, the fact that desires make themselves felt against one's better judgment indicates a resisting agent. Certainly; and just now my typewriter, which for some obscure reason is out of order, is presenting an exasperating resistance; and I am tempted to assume that it has the devil in it. There is quite as much ground for the assumption of a demon in this case as in the other. In both cases what we face (though in different degree) is not design, but the mechanical fixity of unconscious processes.

Any one, moreover, who notes the working of his mind when, for example, he is struggling against dulness and fatigue to fin-

ish a task of difficult writing, will find no difficulty in detecting the intrusion of just the kind of symbolic associations upon which Freud bases the interpretation of dreams. And it seems to me that Dr. Ernest Jones, the English Freudian, gives the whole thing neatly away when he tells us, speaking in defence of Freud's view, that "the intrinsic or logical reactions [i. e., associations] are largely replaced by superficial ones, especially by sound connections"; and, further, when he adds that such reactions are found especially "in children and savages, during intoxication and insanity, in superstitions, folk-lore, and even in poetry." Were this a reply to Freud, it could not be more to the point. For now it seems that, granting (as common opinion, indeed, has always held) that the ravings of delirium and the images and associations of dreams furnish a clue to the subject's past experience—just as paint on his fingers might furnish a clue—yet, so far from expressing the systematic meaning of an underground demon, who uses an organized symbolic vocabulary, these associations have no more inner significance than the maudlin silliness of the drunken man, in whom the more mechanical sound associations have replaced the connections of sense, and whose wit seems inspired only because it is unusual. To illustrate this substitution of sound for sense—I find that, a day or two ago, I wrote "under the service" for "under the surface." A livelier imagination than my own may call the substitution humorous; the Freudian, who can discover a sexual motive in the binomial theorem, will doubtless find it obscene.

To the love of the sensational—for it is too easy to retort a more specific preoccupation—we must also attribute the Freudian exaggeration of sex. To the ordinary view it seems that the desires of the body are many. In the Freudian view they form a rearranged system of which the centre and the end are sex; so that sex is bound to be a ruling obsession under all conditions of life. Hence, if the dream expresses a wish, we must look necessarily for a sexual wish. But here again we may find our answer in the unconscious self-refutations of the Freudians. Brill quotes from Hauptmann, "Der müde Gebundene träumt von Freiheit"—as if it were not an immemorial commonplace of fiction that we dream, sleeping or waking, of that for which we most intensely hunger. I have known of a sick person, restricted to a slim diet, who dreamed constantly of good things to eat.

Let us assume, if you please, that the phenomena of neurosis show the prevailing intensest hunger to be the sex-hunger. It will be sufficient to note (as Freud himself somewhere notes in this connection) the conditions of modern social life. Primitive life faces an ever-impending danger of famine and similar privations; but in civilized life, though we worry about the rent, there is little danger that the poorest need starve to death, freeze to death, or be devoured by a wild beast. On the other hand, civilization, by an increasing demand that the sex-

relation shall stand for personal sympathy and fellowship, has made the gratification of this bodily desire only more complicated and uncertain; and therefore, on Freudian principles, more intense by repression. This may point to a social problem, but it dismisses the theory of specifically sexual demoniacal possession.

## III.

Similar motives suggest themselves in the attempt to psycho-analyze "psycho-analysis." Jung reveals the status of this discovery of science when he tells us that psycho-analysis, as an institution, is to be regarded as a "secularized" confessional. Precisely. Under the awe-inspiring designation of "psycho-analysis" we are offered simply that method of mental relief and of self-control which has been practiced since the beginning of the race in the form of telling your troubles. Freud somewhere hints that Socrates suggested psycho-analysis in his maxim, "Know thyself." This is only another way of stating the same thing. And, though we wonder at the parade of novelty, it argues no lack of insight in the Freudians for appreciating the cathartic and therapeutic value of self-knowledge. It is at least a tenable view that the whole problem of life is the problem of coming to a clear self-consciousness with regard to our wishes and motives; and, at any rate, it seems that our greatest difficulties, those which chiefly paralyze our energies, are due less to the magnitude of our tasks than to doubt and confusion as to what we really want and what we are trying to do. Nor may we doubt that psycho-analysis frees one from the torments of illicit desire—not, however, by the make-believe process of "sublimation," nor necessarily by simple gratification, but rather by giving to the object of desire a definitive valuation in one's scheme of life. When I can say finally that "this is forever out of the question," the desire ceases.

Penetration of the mystery of psycho-analysis serves only to bring to light, however, a fundamental contradiction in the Freudian theory. The efficiency of psycho-analysis implies that knowing what we do enables us to control our acts for ends of our (conscious selves) own choosing. The theory of demoniacal possession implies that our wishes are at the mercy of a psychological underworld; while the "sensory" theory of consciousness makes the states of the conscious self mere shadows of what is going on under the surface. Evidently, the Freudians are insufficiently disciplined in the problems of psychology. If psycho-analysis is efficient, the underworld becomes rather a tame affair, and the demon hardly worth personifying; while if the effect of psycho-analysis is merely "sensory," it leaves us where we were.

The Freudians will tell us, doubtless, that psycho-analysis differs from all personal methods of inducing self-knowledge in the fact that it is based distinctively upon positive science. But this we may beg leave to doubt—especially since the positive science

in question refers mainly to the Freudian cipher of symbolism. A scientific method is distinguished by the fact that it can be taught and that its procedure can be reduced to system and rule. In his paper on "Wild Analysis" Freud has given us an instructive picture of the blundering fool who relies for his analysis upon scientific method. Reading Freud's reports of cases, we perceive that successful "psycho-analysis" presupposes a high degree of detective skill, along with a keen power of personal sympathy, which enables one to see the patient as he sees himself. Psycho-analysis is less a science than an art. Freud himself is no mean artist. His reports of cases (as he is not unwilling to admit) show a high degree of imagination and literary skill; and, scattered among the fruits of an ingeniously obscene imagination, there are evidences here and there of fine feeling. It may be that psycho-analysis is to revolutionize the treatment of mental disorder, and perhaps to introduce greater self-control into normal life; but if so, this will be, not because the method is "scientific," but in so far as it is humane.

## Notes from the Capital

JOHN HAYS HAMMOND.

The recent agitation over the infliction of the death penalty upon the leaders of the Irish insurrection and the discussion of the probable fate of Sir Roger Casement must have had a peculiar reminiscent savor for a prominent citizen of Massachusetts who spends so much of his time at the capital that he is commonly reckoned a Washingtonian. The interesting feature of the case of John Hays Hammond is that he was condemned to die for a revolutionary plot which he not only did not take part in, but publicly discountenanced.

Hammond has had a remarkable career. Born in San Francisco about sixty-one years ago, educated at the Sheffield Scientific School and at the Royal School of Mines in Freiburg, he early made gold-mining his specialty. Although in engineering circles he was very well known and highly regarded, the general public first became acquainted with him in 1894, when accounts of his success in British South Africa began to drift into the leading newspapers of this country. These stories furnished a fresh illustration of how fortune often favors the right sort of young American who, instead of moving westward with the sun, reverses the usual trend of migration and goes back to the Old World to teach it a few modern methods. Count Rumford, Junius Morgan, George Peabody, and others had already tried this reversal and found it worth while.

Some of his mining investigations in Mexico had brought Hammond into contact with English explorers and investors, and through this opening he was invited by one of the companies that were exploiting South Africa to go thither in its employ. He had not been long in his new environment before he attracted the attention of Cecil Rhodes, who offered him the management of the rich gold properties of the British South Africa Com-

pany, at a rate of compensation which he was permitted to name himself, and which made the salary of the President of the United States look anaemic. But Rhodes was ambitious not only to develop wealth, but to build up a political empire, and in a very short time Hammond became interested in the public affairs of the region, as a member of a Reform Committee whose aim was to bring about a more just and intelligent administration of the local government in dealing with the outsiders who had come in there to improve the country industrially. Having failed to effect any substantial results, and conditions becoming continually less and less tolerable, the Committee appealed to their British friends in an adjoining state to come to their rescue. The appeal was interpreted to mean armed intervention, and Dr. Leander Jameson gathered his followers and made the now historic raid into the Dutch domain. It was a foolish blunder, as Jameson has since declared, and, as he added, deserved the failure that overtook it. But its most serious personal consequences fell upon four conspicuous members of the Reform Committee, including Hammond, who were promptly arrested and tried for sedition. They pleaded guilty in the hope of obtaining clemency from the court, but without avail, and all four were sentenced to death.

Hammond, who had no sympathy with the spirit of the raid and had boldly rebuked such manifestations as he had witnessed among the Englishmen with whom he was thrown, had so large a circle of friends in this country that the news of his impending fate aroused a storm of protest here. The members of both houses of Congress united in a letter to President Krueger of the Transvaal Republic, praying for a pardon, and from other influential American sources followed letters, memorials, and resolutions in the same tenor. They moved Krueger a good deal, for he was a shrewd old fellow and had enough knowledge of the world to realize what such a demonstration meant. His executive council, however, was made up of stolid, narrow-visioned burghers who could see nothing in his arguments till he quietly laid down his trump card.

"These men, when they are dead," said he, "will be of no more use to us than the soil they are buried in. If we let them live, we can trade with them and make money."

His words gave his associates pause till they could weigh these considerations against each other. When they finally came to a vote, the advocates of mercy had a majority of just one. Krueger proved his case when the sentences of death were reduced to periods of imprisonment during which every civilized luxury the unfortunates procured cost them a fancy price, and later, when the four were pardoned on payment of fines that placed an aggregate of a half-million dollars in the Transvaal treasury.

South Africa largely lost its charm for Hammond after this experience, and he concluded that Yankeeland was good enough for him. But he could not keep away from politics, and has had a hand in all the chief activities of the Republican party since he came back, including what he thinks was a narrow escape from the Vice-Presidential nomination when Taft ran for reelection. He has also had the distinction of being used as the hero of a story by Richard Harding Davis. He is still the short, stockily built, direct-mannered man his old friends have always

called "Jack," has lost nothing of his keenness of scent for an outcropping of auriferous ore, and retains the habit of reaching for his fishing-tackle when he wants to go off somewhere and do a little quiet thinking.

TATTERS.

## Correspondence

### IN PRAISE OF THE COLONEL.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Being an old subscriber of the *Nation*, your recent undignified remarks on ex-President Roosevelt amaze me.

You seem to take no account of Roosevelt having been President of our country for seven years, years of peace, during which, by general world opinion, he was a strong figure. He created many domestic reforms the benefits of which are accruing to us today. Although a man of great impetuosity and strong passions, he helped much to bring about peace between Russia and Japan, and commanded a prestige abroad for the United States that we have to-day almost entirely lost. Raisulis did not thrive then as Villas do to-day; and there was no "peace at any price," with bullies of all nations killing Americans at will, or robbing American cargoes, intercepting American mail or cables to suit commercial needs—and salvoes of U. S. Notes for reprisals; nor were international treaties and laws relegated to the scrap-paper basket with our tacit consent. We had no army, no navy, and no one dared threaten us with war and inner dissensions.

The essence of Roosevelt is merely that he is human to the core, and so he errs much, but to most of us he represents true Americanism, an honest, ambitious man never tiring in his services to his country, to his fellow-men, a man of good stock, of good literary attainments, of originality, a good sport, a good father; not perfection by any means, but an all-round good, virile American, of whom we shall for all times be proud.

V. SYDNEY ROTHSCHILD.

Genoa, Italy, June 22.

### DUTCH NEUTRALITY.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: People have noted with amazement the continued calm with which the Scandinavian countries and Spain and Holland tolerate the loss of ships and lives. In the case of the last two it may be to a great extent enforced docility. But recognizing what instant support Holland could claim of England, it seems odd that an essentially seafaring nation, very proud of its merchant fleets, the prize of which was the *Tubantia*, should have accepted its torpedoing so quietly. As a matter of fact, there was more high feeling against Germany in Holland round the twentieth of March than there has been at any other time since the beginning of the war. But official Holland remained calm.

The same short-sightedness which led to the delay from October, 1914, to February, 1915, and caused the useless sacrifices of Gallipoli, had no help ready for Servia, and which delayed for so long a time the solution of the recruiting problem, alienated Dutch

sympathies for the Allies. Early in November Secretary Lansing's shipping note was sent to England. The Dutch Government had already protested for months at English treatment of neutral shipping. But the Downs are still full of steamers which wait and wait for perfunctory examinations and delayed clearance papers. And most of the steamers are from Norway and Holland.

Dutch opinion on the European quarrel received too much encouragement to veer, after the first frightened resentment at the invasion of Belgium. Holland does not believe that Germany can be beaten. Secondly, there is far less animosity towards Germany in Holland, where the pressure of continental differences is better understood, than in America, although the Dutchman likes the French and has a most sincere and cordial dislike for the Germans. But he does not talk much war. You can go to a cabaret in Rotterdam without hearing the war mentioned. Dutch merchants and commercial travellers come back from the United States immensely amused at the never-omitted question, "What do you folks think about the war?" And yet I have heard two meaty sentences from an important Dutch merchant which seem significant. The first was: "Since we have seen that England will do nothing for us . . ."

The fine edge of patriotism has been worn blunt in the belligerent countries, and the eternal shopkeeping instincts are again manifesting themselves. German and French Governments are fighting food speculators; there is a chapter to be written on English factory owners and recruiting in this war. The enforced unselfishness of Holland long ago became irksome to her. The English control of her trade and the Netherlands Oversea Trust hurt her pride. Dutch ships still come in three, five, seven, and more days late. They enter Falmouth Harbor, let us say, on Friday, and leave the Downs some time after Wednesday, submitting to two examinations of equal ineffectiveness, and surrendering what mail they carry. There is nothing more exasperating than delay at sea, and captains, mates, stewards, and deckhands, with their shore allowance cut to two days or less, come home in no agreeable mood. This discomfort of a sailor is a small thing, but it spreads in widening rings through his family and the easy sympathy of his acquaintances.

No one realizes better than Holland herself how superbly silly it would be to fight. The millions of increased profits, the supremacy of the gulden even over the dollar, and the corresponding depression of the franc, the mark, the shilling, would restrain more excitable national temperaments than the Dutch. But Holland's prosperity does not assuage the sting of the restriction put upon her neutrality. The Dutch are not allowed to forget that Dutch commerce exists on British sufferance, and the indignity of her position has always cut Holland keenly. And the second significant sentence of the Dutch merchant was: "Holland has grown great for England, and we have less privileges than a protectorate." There is more resentment here than truth, but the fact which remains is that in Holland there is resentment. In an early article on the war the stouter Chesterton remarked that nations resent insult more than injury, and if this pertinent truism is not hysterically demon-

strated in Holland, the resentment is certainly not less deep there, where injury has been added to insult. Holland will not resent the insult too much. Secure in the belief that it will be very long before her hundreds of thousands of soldiers will hold the balance of physical power in Europe, but knowing also that she has Germany to back her against an English invasion, and her own invaluable inland waters as a defence against German attack, she strengthens as best she can her new extensions of trade, and is doing a great deal of thinking preparatory to the commercial reorganization after the war. In striking contrast to our absorption in the theoretic aspects of the war the Hollander is already considering his plan of action for the time when the really important issues will be fought out: the unspectacular battles of trade and construction.

F. REYHER.

New York, June 8.

### JOHN HAY AND "THE BREAD-WINNERS."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In the Introduction to the new edition of John Hay's "Bread-Winners," which Harper & Brothers have recently brought out, Mr. Clarence Leonard Hay says: "Although the work was generally attributed to my father, he never acknowledged it. This edition is the first which bears on its title-page the author's name." Though this statement is strictly true, it is nevertheless somewhat misleading, and, oddly enough, the opinion seems to continue to prevail in some quarters that the authorship of "The Bread-Winners" is still an open secret. The July *Bookman* begins with these lines: "Almost thirty-five years after the writing of 'The Bread-Winners' comes the first edition of the book authoritatively bearing the name of John Hay as the author." In the second volume of his "Life and Letters of John Hay," Mr. William Roscoe Thayer says, speaking of this same book: "Although the secret of its authorship must have been shared by eight or nine persons, it was never so authoritatively divulged that curiosity ceased. . . . So to the end of his life, Hay never acknowledged 'The Breadwinners.'" In the January "Easy Chair," in his review of Mr. Thayer's work, Mr. Howells writes, referring to this same subject: "He never explicitly confessed the authorship of 'The Bread-Winners,'" and in a letter to me so late as the 11th of this present month, Mr. Howells says: "I was privy to the authorship from the first offering of the story to editors; but for that reason, and for the vow to secrecy which I took, I have been unwilling to own the fact. Even now, without direct leave from the Hay family, I should not like to do so."

From the wording of the foregoing extracts and from similar comments which have appeared of late in other publications, it could not be guessed that the authorship of "The Bread-Winners" was authoritatively assigned to Mr. Hay by his own family some nine years ago. It may be worth while, therefore, to give more exactly the little history of the revelation of the authorship of the book in question.

In 1907, when I was engaged, in collaboration with a half-dozen members of the Cornell faculty, on "A Manual of American Literature" for the Tauchnitz Edition, I wrote

Mrs. Hay, who was then still living, and asked her if she would be so kind as to inform me if her husband was positively the author of "The Bread-Winners." After consulting with her daughter, so she informed me, she answered promptly that he was, and authorized me to announce the fact in the Manual. This I did in these words over my own name: "I am permitted by Mrs. John Hay to state for the first time, with authority, that the above work was written by her husband." This statement was put under the title, "The Bread-Winners," which appeared in the "List of American Authors and Their Works in the Tauchnitz Edition" placed at the end of the Manual. On page 241 of the Manual, Prof. Clark S. Northup writes, basing his affirmation on Mrs. Hay's letter to me, which he had seen: "John Hay . . . was the author of a single novel, and his connection with that has been, up to the appearance of the present volume, only a conjecture." And on page 499, Professor Northup again mentions Mr. Hay as the author of "The Bread-Winners." In the American edition of the Manual (Putnam, 1909), the above references to the Leipzig edition will be found on pages 213 and 447. Furthermore, at the end of the Putnam edition is a list of "American Authors Represented in the Tauchnitz Edition," and in this list appears the name of John Hay, which was the equivalent of saying that he wrote "The Bread-Winners," for it is the only book of his in the Tauchnitz Edition. Again, the general catalogue of the whole Tauchnitz Edition, which is always pasted in at the back of each volume, has also been giving for several years the name of John Hay under the title of "The Bread-Winners," which up to that time had been given as anonymous. It is true that the title-page of the Tauchnitz Edition of "The Bread-Winners" has never been changed. This would have required the remaking of the plate; but a number of years ago I urged, in vain, both the first Baron Tauchnitz and his son to make certain modifications in the wording of the title-pages of the whole Collection. Yet, perhaps, it is not too much to assume that if I had not brought the matter squarely before Mrs. Hay, the authorship of this novel would have been left in that large group of unsolved literary mysteries found in the literatures of all ages and all countries; for children and friends could not have spoken with the decisive authority of a wife.

This letter being written from the seat of Cornell University, before dismissing the subject it may perhaps be interesting to say a word about one of the numerous claimants for the authorship of "The Bread-Winners," especially as the would-be author frequented the Cornell campus during my undergraduate days. It will be remembered that sometimes John Hay would reply when the question of this authorship was put to him point-blank: "Six different persons have stated in my presence at different times that they were the author of the book; let no guilty one escape!" Among these guilty ones, or at least among the guilty ones, was eccentric old Dr. Samuel J. Parker, a physician of considerable intellectual force, who lived half-way up the steep hill which I had to climb twice each day to recitations. I well remember the face and manner of Dr. Parker, especially as he liked to fall into conversation with us students when we passed his house, in order to air his views concerning what he considered the shortcomings of the University which he

enjoyed to attack, and probably also with the ulterior purpose of getting fresh ammunition for future assaults from our unsuspecting tongues. But my statement that Dr. Parker always stoutly held that he was the author of "The Bread-Winners" is not based on any assertions which this fantastic personage may have confided to me in my youthful days; it came from responsible Cornell officials when I showed them nine years ago the letter of Mrs. Hay already referred to; and so deep an impression had Dr. Parker's allegation made on at least one of these officials that at first he was not at all disposed to admit the conclusiveness of the positive declaration of Mrs. Hay. In fact, Dr. Parker's effrontery or his delusion—I am inclined to think it was the latter—went so far that he even begged his Cornell friends to procure from Franklin Square a specimen of the manuscript of the novel, and it is possible that his own manuscript, "The History of Oregon and the Pacific Coast, and Its Special Connection with Ithaca, New York"—does not this title point to a disordered intellect?—was deposited in the Cornell University Library to prove some day to a doubting public that he was indeed the real author of "the best seller" of 1883.

THEODORE STANTON.

Cornell Campus, July 15.

#### "SOUS VERDUN."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: May I be permitted to call the attention of your readers to a book, "Sous Verdun," which has just appeared in the series of Mémoires et récits de guerre published by Hachette? This personal narrative is the most vivid account that I have yet seen of the fighting on the western front. The author, Maurice Genevoix, was, at the outbreak of the war, a student at the Ecole normale, and has just finished a study on Maupassant. His story is poignant with the realism of Maupassant and his style is characterized by a skill like his master's in finding the *mot juste*. One's curiosity is piqued and one's interest but heightened by the numerous deleted passages and the many pages bare save for the indication: *Supprimé par la censure*. The volume contains a preface by the eminent historian Ernest Lavisse.

PERCIVAL B. FAY.

Berkeley, Cal., July 17.

#### LOSSES IN THE BATTLE OF JUTLAND.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In your editorial comment on the battle of Jutland (*Nation* of June 15) you say that "Berlin's admitted loss in heavy tonnage is now about 58,000, as against Great Britain's admitted loss of 105,000 tons. This makes the German loss 55 per cent. of the British."

You ask a little later, "What shall be conjectured regarding the condition of the other ships which the British say were sunk?" And, as one would expect of the *Nation*, even at that stage in the game, you arrived at the conclusion which Admiral Jellicoe's report afterwards fully confirmed.

But there is one aspect of the matter upon which I should like to comment. Probably even this will be put right in your columns long before my letter can reach you from England. But "tonnage" is a phrase which covers a multitude of tricks at Kiel; and I should like to point out that the German

admitted losses now amount to 109,000 tons. The figures are:

2 battleships of the Dreadnought type.	18,900
	18,900
Deutschland .....	15,200
Lutzow .....	25,000
5 Rostocks .....	24,500
6 torpedo-boat destroyers (820)	4,920
1 submarine .....	800
Total .....	109,220

These ships were actually seen to sink. The list by no means covers what is believed to have been sunk during the night. An exceedingly conservative expert estimate places the minimum German loss at over 118,000 tons, thus making both their absolute and their relative losses greater than those of the British. The actual practical result is, of course, overwhelmingly on the side of British sea power.

ALFRED NOTES.

London, July 10.

#### DISRAELI AS PROPHET.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: For the benefit of such of your readers as, in perusing the current volume of the Money Penny and Buckle Disraeli, may have missed this passage which so thrilled me, or for the benefit of such of them as may not have tackled that portentous work at all—it is emphatically *not* calculated to "drive the novel from the Young Lady's table"—I am sending you this, which startled me into wakefulness last night just as I was sliding into that deep, deep oblivion which is only to be attained by the reading of improving literature:

(From a speech made by Disraeli at Aylesbury in 1859.)

The day is coming, if it has not already come, when the question of the balance of power cannot be confined to Europe alone. Remember always that England, though she is bound to Europe by tradition, by affection, by all those ties which time alone can create and consecrate, is not a mere Power of the Old World. Her geographical position, her laws, her language, her religion, connect her as much with the New World as with the Old. And although she has occupied not only an eminent, but, I am bold to say, the most eminent, position among European nations for ages, still, if ever Europe by her shortsightedness falls into an inferior and exhausted state, for England there will remain an illustrious future. We are bound to the communities of the New World, and those great States which our own planting and colonizing energies have created, by ties and interests which will sustain our power and enable us to play as great a part in the times yet to come as we do in these days, as we have done in the past. And therefore, now that Europe is on the eve of war, I say it is for Europe, not for England, that my heart sinks.

This was the man *Punch* cartooned as a dancing-master! Did the voters of Aylesbury thrill to him, one wonders? and one somehow imagines not. Surely Englishmen must thrill to-day, in the hour of need, to that magnificent message of hope, ringing out of the past! Or do they in the depths of their hearts

Think their empire still  
Is the Strand and 'Olbury 'ill?

One wonders, again!

Odd, at all events, that these words should have been spoken in the very year the Kaiser was born and reprinted in this year of 1916, when Europe "by [some one's] shortsightedness" is in greater danger of "falling into an inferior and exhausted state" than ever she was before.

M. A. A.

Concord, Mass., July 21.

## Literature

THE SCHOOLMEN.

*Studies in the History of Natural Theology.*  
By Clement C. J. Webb. Oxford University Press. 10s. 6d.

Mr. Clement Webb, well known as mediævalist and historian of philosophy, publishes under the above title the addresses that he delivered as Wilde lecturer in natural and comparative religion at Oxford. He scans a wide horizon, but his look is fixed mainly on the Middle Ages, which he interprets with the sure familiarity of a master. For the casually informed, for those who are pleased to regard that great period as a "parenthesis in the history of thought," his story will bristle with novelties, such as the statement that "Thomas Aquinas was the mediating spirit of an age intoxicated with new knowledge and driven hither and thither by diverse winds of doctrine"; an age that produced the Luciferians, who believed that God sinned in casting down Satan and his angels, has little in the way of novelty to learn from us. It is pleasant to have an interpretation of mediæval thought from one who not only admits the indebtedness of the Schoolmen to the Greeks, but himself knows more of Plato than what the Schoolmen can teach. It is pleasant also to listen to a Platonist who recognizes in mediæval philosophy something besides a misunderstanding of Aristotle. Mr. Webb's style is rather Aristotelian than Platonic; some of his sentences would leave even the Stagirite breathless. The mark of the lecturer is not entirely effaced; repetitions occur which, appropriate for the platform, are not needed by the arm-chair. But though at times cumbrous in form, the argument is never dull in substance. The author can be witty as well as learned, and fence very prettily with his opponents.

The scope of the work involves a protest against Pfeiderer's "*Religionsphilosophie auf geschichtlicher Grundlage*." Pfeiderer starts the philosophy of religion with Spinoza, and Webb shows easily that it had long existed under the name of natural theology. He begins with Plato and his discussion of religion in the "Laws." In antiquity, natural religion is opposed rather to civic or political than to revealed religion, though the element of tradition is common to both of these and eventually identifies them. The problem of the ancient naturalist was to moralize the traditional faith; the modern is concerned with making it scientifically palatable. Plato's aim was to liberate the gods from the fictions of the poets; he would prove that the gods exist, that they care for man, and that they cannot be bribed by sacrifice. Plato is akin to Christian thinking in his insistence on special providences; for, remarks the author, "That the 'very hairs of your head are all numbered' is a conviction which, once being reached, religion cannot surrender without committing suicide."

Plato's criticisms of sacrifice, further, are not inconsistent with the Christian doctrine of the Atonement. But he bequeathed a *damnosa hereditas* to the later ages in the attribution to the stars of a superhuman nature.

The typical mediæval thinkers selected by Mr. Webb are St. Anselm, Abelard, St. Thomas Aquinas, Raymond of Sebonde, and—still in the Dark Ages for Pfeiderer—Pomponazzi and Lord Herbert of Cherbury. The first two draw no line between natural and revealed theology, though they approach the goal by different ways. Anselm has unwavering faith that the ancient heritage of Christianity can be shown to be intelligible and even philosophically necessary. Abelard, whom Mr. Webb regards as innovating and indeed epoch-making, is more keenly aware of the difficulties in the path and more willing to surrender the parts of traditional theology that appear incapable of rationalization. Thomas Aquinas draws the line. The provinces of revealed and natural theology are distinct; in some matters, the latter can never coincide with the former. Raymond of Sebonde further emphasizes this dissociation and centres his interest, and that of his admirer Montaigne, on natural theology. Pomponazzi, proving that in natural theology the heresies of Averroës and Aristotle are true, ironically subscribes to the revealed faith which negates his careful reasoning. For Lord Herbert of Cherbury revealed religion must make room for those spiritual truths that have intuitively been perceived by the human mind in all ages and countries; curiously, this thinker demanded, and obtained, a special revelation to assure him that his views were correct.

The history of natural theology presents interesting developments as treated by Mr. Webb. In a way, he discovers too much development. There are undoubtedly temperamental differences among Anselm, Abelard, and Thomas Aquinas, and the science of theology had become enormously systematized by the thirteenth century. We doubt, however, if the distinction between natural and revealed truth was less apparent in the earlier period than in the later. In fact, we may go back earlier still, to Boethius, and find in his theological tractates—the genuineness of which is better established than Mr. Webb seems to believe—clear recognition of the two separate spheres of faith and reason. "Et fidem, si poteris, confunge et rationem," he writes an ecclesiastical friend after discussing the nature of relativity in the Holy Trinity. It is somewhat surprising that Mr. Webb passes by that monumental effort of natural theology, the "*Consolatio Philosophie*." This is not the dying gasp of Pagan philosophy. It is a model set to the Schoolmen and followed by them, the first systematic attempt on the part of a Christian thinker to settle the broad principles of his faith by the unaided human reason. The doctrine of the "*Consolatio*," while not specifically Christian at any point, can all be adjusted within the "*Summa Theologie*." It is more than probable that something of St. Thomas's tolerant attitude to-

wards Plato's and Aristotle's views on the eternity of the world is derived from Boethius's treatment of that matter. It is likely, too, that St. Anselm owes part of his "*Monologium*" to Boethius's arguments on the unity of God. It were well to dethrone Abelard from the eminence of an originator—Mr. Webb names no achievement of his that is really new—and give this place to Boethius instead. Incidentally, the word "theology" could hardly have been "associated with heathenism down to the time of Abelard" after Boethius's use of it in his tractates. But it is not our purpose to quarrel with Mr. Webb's award of values, but rather to commend his narrative as a whole and his individual analyses, which are acute, profound, and, even in the case of thinkers with whom he can hardly agree, sympathetic. A book like this makes the reader feel that the ancient Pagans were nearer to the real doctrines of Christianity than Kantians and Post-Kantians to-day, and that perhaps the Middle Ages were not so far from wrong in their "*reductio omnium scientiarum ad theologiam*."

## CURRENT FICTION.

*They of the High Trails.* By Hamlin Garland. New York: Harper & Bros.

*The Border Legion.* By Zane Grey. New York: Harper & Bros.

Like the proverbial blessing, Mr. Garland's West—a rather drear and uncomfortable West, it often was—brightens as it vanishes. So much so that his latest gleanings in the footsteps of the pioneers wear the unwonted hue of romance. For the author of "*They of the High Trails*" writes in a valedictory mood, as who should say Hall and Farewell, and he has not only indulged the sentiment, but also deliberately commemorated it in "Foreword" and "Afterword." The latter is so expressive, so characteristic in both its spontaneity and its lack of fluency, that we quote from it:

Have you seen sunsets so beautiful that your heart ached to see them fade? So my heart aches to see the trails fading from the earth. . . . I here make acknowledgment to the trail and the trail-makers. They have taught me much. I have lifted the latchstring of the lonely shack, and broken bread with the red hunter. I know the varied voices of the coyote, wizard of the mesa. The trail has strung upon it, as upon a silken cord, opalescent dawns and ruby sunsets. My camping-places return in the music of gold and amber streams. The hunter, the miner, the prospector, have been my companions and my tutors—and what they have given me I hold with jealous hands.

We should have imagined that Mr. Garland, by reason of his penchant for what is sadly true and probable, would have been little fitted to deal in sunset glamour; but, on the contrary, the clearness of his sight and the sincerity of his feeling have served his present intention well, so that no lover of the West could read the volume without feeling his heart lift again in the presence

August 10, 1916]

## The Nation

133

of her grandeur and warmth in recognition of her inimitable human kind.

The true poetical quality of the observation embodied in these tales is best appreciated by contrast with a novel like "The Border Legion," in which the Idaho gold-fields serve as stage-setting. Here we have the West of the familiar theatricalized tradition—the Golden West, whose Girl reclaims an erring Hero from a desperado's career and inspires a notorious Bad Man with fatal passion. Kidnapped by the latter and forced to masquerade as a boy road agent, she contrives to hold her captor at bay in fine melodramatic fashion, observes a gold strike in its roaring days, and emerging scathless from the wild country, safely married to her lover, returns demurely to Idaho village life. It is the book for an hour's entertainment, belonging as completely to the world of make-believe as if the scene had been laid on the sea-coast of Bohemia, and significant only of the taste of the reading public, which it is expertly designed to meet. Mr. Garland's book sticks in the memory longer as one of the few in which the America of our transitional day has really found voice.

*Of One Blood.* By Charles M. Sheldon.  
Boston: Small, Maynard & Co.

A good deal of water has flowed under the bridge since the enormous popular success of "In His Steps." One thinks of that story as belonging to the rather remote past; as being an expression of the more sentimental type of Victorian religion. To come across a new book by the author of "In His Steps" is almost as surprising as to read an advertisement of a new story by the author of "The Lamplighter"—or, if that is putting it too strongly, let us say by the author of "Black Beauty." The theme of Mr. Sheldon's new novel, however, is of perennial interest. "Of One Blood" deals in an old-fashioned sentimental way with the fundamental brotherhood of men of different races—the same theme that is handled in a very modern sentimental way in one of the cleverest and most vigorous of recent novels, E. H. Lewis's "Those About Trench." Fashions in sentiment change almost as rapidly as fashions in dress; and it is safe to predict that "Of One Blood" will enjoy nothing like the popularity of "In His Steps," simply because we no longer like to take our sentiment "straight." We prefer to have the flavor of it half-concealed by that of irony or some sort of disillusion. And Mr. Sheldon's sentiment is incapable of such sophistication. It is the simon-pure article, of the good old popular-preacher brand. The story centres upon a group of students of various races in a Western college, who form a "Cosmopolitan Club" with the ideal of brotherhood. The incidents are so devised as to give the author an opportunity to apply his principle to many of the great social questions—intemperance, prostitution, war, and especially all manner of race prejudice, with particular emphasis on prejudice against the negro. Needless to say, there

is not much plot, and the characterization is thin and conventional. The talk of the college youths sounds curiously formal and quaint; and in other details the author is oddly negligent of realism. Perhaps it would not be out of place to suggest to him that before he tries to describe another football game he should learn the difference between a quarterback and a halfback. On the whole, the book is a rather interesting survival, a sort of literary curiosity.

*Trial by Fire: A Tale of the Great Lakes.*  
By Richard Matthews Hallet. Boston:  
Small, Maynard & Co.

The plot of this story is, up to a certain point, quite movie-like, or, as we used to say, melodramatic. A hard, self-made man named Grant has moved upward by main strength from the fire-hole of a great laker to the ownership of many ships. He has cast aside a wife and son on the way. The son, known as "Cagey," is himself a stoker. Another son, Alexander, is the weakling of the second generation: at the outset of the action proper he has embezzled funds from the bank in which his father's influence has placed him, and is on the verge of discovery. To escape, he signs on as stoker's assistant on an ore-boat. By one coincidence his superior is his half-brother, Cagey, who knows of their relation; by another, old Grant and Avis, Alexander's betrothed, are aboard. Cagey falls under Avis's spell, covets her with his savage heart. Alexander reveals himself as her defender; and Cagey becomes his helper's deliberate torturer. Some of the scenes in the fire-hole are pretty badly overdrawn, for purposes of art, whether they are literally true to facts or not. Here comes in the second strain in the book, that of unsparing "realism," or addiction to detail. Apart from the romantic story, which makes a man of Alexander instead of a feeble wastrel, and a man of Cagey instead of a ruthless brute, the book has its merits, of a striking atmosphere, and a theme of general appeal. The problem is well enough put by the porter of Cagey's boat, who looks down upon Cagey and his kind: "Pretty soft they were, to go down into that something of a fire-hole and vomit themselves inside out for \$52.50 a month. They were very strong men, quite competent to thieve and take by force. What a pack of stiffs, then, to lean into the fires as they did, and lose their appetites, and singe their hair."

Why do they do it?—how can men be found for such tasks?—this is the question for which the author undertakes to find some sort of answer. Cagey himself supplies it in his own instance. After his glimpse into an outer world of clear and sweet airs, the world represented by the girl Avis, after his renunciation of escape, for the sake of others, he turns back as by a kind of fatalism to his life of trained self-torture. And in some dim way he feels himself dedicated to that life: "Of his own will he could go on in torment, though the world beckoned. He had vindicated his intimate right to the

dread embrace of this consuming toil, by which alone he lived, wrapped in whose fiery heart of flame he might meet with peace at length in the shadowy rear-guard of all hope and all desire. . . . Presently he sat back on his bench of black canvas, and putting the shovel between his legs, sank forward with his chin on his fist and his elbow on his knee, staring with hard eyes into the hot blackness between the dusty boilers.

"Hah," he said aloud, "some guy has got to get the steam."

## THE FARMERS' GUIDE.

*The Georgics and Eclogues of Virgil.* Translated into English Verse by Theodore Chickering Williams. With an Introduction by George Herbert Palmer. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

No one will say that Mr. Williams's translation of the "Georgics" and "Eclogues" is not timely; Mr. Robert Frost declares the "Eclogues" to be an important part of the literary heritage by which he has been influenced, and Virgil himself sings in the "Georgics," in the words of the translator:

So many wars  
Vex the whole world, so many monstrous  
shapes  
Of wickedness appear; no honor due  
Is given the sacred plough; our fields and  
farms,  
Their masters taken, rankly lie untilled;  
Our pruning hooks are beaten in hot flames  
To tempered swords. Euphrates yonder stirs,  
There wild Germania, to impious war,  
Close-neighored cities their firm leagues  
forswear  
And rush to arms. The War-god pitiless  
Moves wrathful through the world.

Mr. Frost to the contrary notwithstanding, the "Eclogues" will seem to most readers a remote strain in these days of war and tumult, but the "Georgics" remain, what they have always been, one of the interesting documents in the history of man and the soil. In addition to being masters of great affairs, the Romans knew wherein lay success in agriculture, to wit, in good soil, good seed, good tillage. Virgil's "Farmer's Almanac and Garland of Posies" is still good reading for many reasons other than that it was written in the Latin tongue. The farmer who thinks that all knowledge has been unlocked only in our later days will be surprised when he finds Virgil writing:

Many I know who ere the beans are sown  
Steep them in nitre and mix lees of oil,  
That in the pods, so oft of promise vain,  
A larger size be found. Yet have I seen  
Seeds chosen patiently and tested long  
And moistened, too, over a gentle fire,  
Spoilt notwithstanding, save if year by year  
One picked the best by hand.

Virgil's farmer knows the profit of irrigation:

He guides the flood of hastening rivulets;  
For when his acres burn and green things  
die,  
Look! from the forehead of the channelled hill  
He lures the waters down.

He knows secrets of fertility:

Fear not  
To soak the land with good rich dung or  
strew  
Waste ashes where the wide fields lie out-  
worn.

He knows of rotation of crops, and how to test the soil, the care and breeding of animals, the points to watch for in sires of beasts for special purposes; in case of plagues he knows the practice to follow, going as far as a modern government bureau in commanding total extinction and safe burial of infected herds. He knows a thing that would have saved many an American farmer from a life of ill-requited labor:

Admire  
Wide-spreading acres; let your own be few.  
His words on grafting might be taken from one of Professor Bailey's books:

Nor is there one sole way to graft and bud:  
For where young eyes from the tree's bark  
swell forth,

Bursting their tender sheaths, a slit is made  
Just at the knot; and here they fasten in  
The shoot from stranger tree, and bid it thrive  
In the moist sapwood. Or smooth trunks are  
gashed,

And wedges through the solid timber driven,  
Then fruit-tree scions set; In no long time  
The tall tree skyward lifts its laden boughs  
And sees with wonder what strange leaves it  
bears

And fruitage not its own.

He even knows the joys to be had on the tiny plot, and the movement "back to the land," for of the cultivator of a little garden he writes:

His soul  
Vied with the wealth of kings, when late at  
eve  
He heaped th' unpurchased banquet on his  
board.

Indeed, the Roman tiller of the soil was a much more economically independent member of society than the modern farmer since the age of the factory has made the latter so dependent on the village store.

The passages cited show the qualities of Mr. Williams's translation, which is comparable to the general excellence of his earlier version of the *Aeneid*. For years he had devoted himself to translating Virgil as a labor of love in a life well filled with preaching and teaching. He was attracted, doubtless, to the poet by a certain kinship of nature. Pathetically enough, he had barely finished his version of the "Georgics" and "Eclogues" when death came, before he had time for revision and polishing. Also as a labor of love, his friend of many years, Prof. George Herbert Palmer, has seen the translation through the press, arranged the Introduction from what papers Williams left, and added a simple biography and touching appreciation of his friend. Professor Palmer modestly declares that he is no Latinist. One remembers, however, that he was a Grecian before he made philosophy his life-work, that he has a sure critical judgment, a rare facility in handling his mother tongue, and a genius in paying lasting tribute to those who have been dear to him.

#### AN AMERICAN MERCANTILE MARINE

*The Heritage of Tyre.* By William Brown Meloney. New York: The Macmillan Co. 50 cents.

This small volume is a stirring appeal to the American public to give immediate and serious attention to the much-talked-of but poorly understood subject of reviving the merchant marine. In the opinion of the author, this question ranks with that of military preparedness in the necessity for its prompt settlement by the people of the United States. Moreover, with half the world now at war, an unusual opportunity presents itself to recover our sea heritage which was lost in the series of important national events that followed the Civil War.

The title seems to have been derived from the idea that those nations which, in turn, have come to control the seas have been at the same time in a commanding position economically, commercially, and politically. The first to hold this position was ancient Phoenicia, whose principal port, Tyre, was "the inspiration of all commerce." The heritage of Tyre—civilization's estate in the seas—now held by Britain, has, within the last two thousand years, passed successively to some half a dozen heirs of which the United States has been one. This was in the proud days of the clipper ships, scarcely more than half a century ago.

To-day, however, the United States is a vassal on the seas. Evidences of our vas-salage, the embarrassments and dangers involved now that those countries which, in times of peace, are our principal carriers are at war, may be found at every turn:

Leave any one of our glutted seaports, with piers and warehouses and freight terminals burdened beyond capacity by an immovable commerce, and follow the railroad lines into the interior, across the continent, go North, go South, go East, go West, and there is not a mile that has not a chapter to contribute to the tale. All of the conceivable products of a hundred millions of people lie along those steel arteries arrested by embargoes. What moves is what the warring nations choose to buy and will receive from the railroads at tidewater. All else must abide its time or rot; for as Europe controls the world's deep-water tonnage, so our market is limited to her will. It matters not that there are other markets in which we could sell and intrench ourselves to the advantage of future trade and expansion. We haven't the ships to reach them. . . . As Britain controls her shipping, so does Japan control hers. . . . What is true of these two nations is likewise true of all others.

Having penned a life-like picture of our shipping situation and of the deplorable economic conditions resulting therefrom, the author proceeds forthwith to present the salient facts in the past history of the American merchant marine down to August, 1914. In doing this he preserves a careful balance between the political and economic aspects of the question. For the general reader who wishes to familiarize himself

with the necessary data as the basis of an intelligent judgment regarding the much-discussed question of the merchant marine, it would be difficult to find a better brief presentation of the facts. As in other books dealing with the history of our merchant marine, the earlier chapters are colored by romance and adventure. The later chapters, however, strike a more serious note, especially those dealing with the period which follows our loss of supremacy on the seas. Briefly stated, the passing of our sea heritage is attributed to four leading factors: our inability to construct metal vessels as cheaply as foreign nations, especially Great Britain; the inability of our ship-owners to build abroad or to operate at a profit their more costly American-built vessels in competition with foreign nations maintaining lower standards of living; the failure of our people as a whole to realize the national necessity or the advantages which accrue from having a merchant marine; a *laissez-faire* policy content with foreign ships carrying our commerce so long as it was carried cheaper than American vessels could perform the service.

A good deal of criticism is directed towards Congress because of legislation passed. For example, in connection with the law of 1913, allowing a 5 per cent. discount on the tariff when goods should be brought in in American bottoms, Mr. Meloney says: "The legislators who drew that bill did so knowing full well that it would not benefit the American merchant marine in any degree. And recognizing that fact and recording it, they nevertheless enacted it into law. They might just as well have legislated a set of rules and regulations for the government of the rings of Saturn."

In reviewing the series of events affecting our merchant shipping which have occurred since the outbreak of the European war, the La Follette-Alexander Seaman's law is severely criticised. "If the Seaman's law is not repealed," says the author, "it is as certain as the sun is in the heavens that it will drive to alien flags, the moment peace is declared, all the tonnage we have acquired since the beginning of the war, and whatever shall come to our registry for the advantage of neutrality during the remainder of the period of hostilities." Nor does the idea of governmental ownership of merchant ships meet with the author's approval. Among the convincing arguments advanced in support of his stand is the fact that it has not been demonstrated how fifty million dollars' worth of ships can be made to accommodate four and one-half billion dollars' worth of foreign commerce. "Washington has yet to be revealed as the abode of any one capable of repeating the miracle of the loaves and the fishes." Besides, it is further suggested that it remains for the advocates of governmental ownership to explain how they would apportion equitably their government-owned tonnage among the various classes of American commerce.

But Mr. Meloney does more than merely criticize: he offers for the consideration of

his readers a clean-cut constructive programme which involves but two acts on the part of Congress—the repeal of the La Follette-Alexander Seaman's law and the creation of a separate department of Government to be called the Department of Marine. The latter should be administered by a commission of from five to seven advisory experts, organized into a body resembling that of the maritime branch of the British Board of Trade. The British organization is the very bulwark of the Empire's shipping. Its members hold permanent positions, so that a change of policy upon short notice, as would be the danger if the body were "in politics," is impossible. A similar board of advisers for our Congress to lean upon would insure a degree of protection to labor and capital in the American shipping business which nowadays is unknown.

## Notes

The Thomas Y. Crowell Co. announces for early publication "A Dreamer of Dreams," by Oliver Huckel; "Selling Things," by Orison S. Marden; "The Worth of a Girl," by Bertha Pratt King, and two new books by Christian D. Larson, entitled "My Ideal of Marriage" and "In the Light of the Spirit."

"The Private Secretary: His Duties and Opportunities," by Edward Jones Kilduff, and "Society's Misfits," by Madeleine Z. Doty, will be issued shortly by the Century Company.

Paul Elder & Company, San Francisco, announce the forthcoming publication of "Seven Maids of Far Cathay," compiled by Bing Ding.

T. Fisher Unwin, London, announces the publication of "The New Protectionism," by J. A. Hobson, and "Humanity versus Un-Humanity," by A. S. Elwell-Sutton.

August 19 is the date set for the publication of the following volumes by George H. Doran Company: "The Great Push," by Patrick MacGill; "The Hausfrau Rampant," translated from the German of Julius Stinde by E. V. Lucas; "Michael Cassidy, Sergeant," by "Sapper"; "The Birds of a Moment," by Carolyn Wells; "Life and Living," by Amelia Josephine Burr; "Lundy's Lane and Other Poems," by Duncan Campbell Scott; "The Conquest of the Great Northwest," by Agnes C. Laut.

Announcements for August and September by Longmans, Green & Company include the following: "Tales of the Great War," by Sir Henry Newbolt; "The Life of Sir Henry Roseoe," by Sir Edward Thorpe; "Memoir of Dr. Thomas Hutchinson Tristram," by Miss Tristram; "Letters of the Rev. H. A. Jeaffreys," edited by C. E. Lambert; "The Christian Ethic of War," by Peter Taylor Forsyth; "Arboreal Man," by F. Wood-Jones; "The Migrations of Fish," by Alexander Meek.

The following books are included in the autumn list of Small, Maynard & Company: "The House of Luck," by Harris Dickson; "Doctor Nick," by L. M. Steele; "The Clue

of the Twisted Candle," by Edgar Wallace, "The Stranger at the Hearth," by Katharine Metcalf Roof; "Told in a French Garden, August, 1914," by Mildred Aldrich; "The Last Voyage of the Karluk," by Robert A. Bartlett and Ralph T. Hale; "The Dog's Book of Verse," edited by J. Early Clauson; "Hatchways," by Ethel Sidgwick; "Art," by Auguste Rodin; "One Hundred Cartoons by Cesare," by O. E. Cesare; "Abraham Lincoln," by Brand Whitlock; "Artistic and Decorative Stencilling," by George A. Audsley and Berthold Audsley; "Amateur Joinery in the Home," by the same; "The Art of Polychromatic and Decorative Turning," by the same; "Poems and Lyrics," by John B. Tabb.

In connection with the Indiana centennial celebration the Princeton University Press announces that it will publish a reprint of Baynard Rush Hall's "The New Purchase," edited by James A. Woodburn. Other autumn publications of this press are: "The Balkan Wars, 1912-1913" (third edition), with an introduction by Jacob Gould Schurman; "Andrew Johnson as Military Governor of Tennessee," by Clifton R. Hall; a reprinting of "Poe's Run and Other Poems," by McCready Sykes; "Egyptian Records of Travel," Vol. II, by David Paton; "A Critique of the Theory of Evolution," by Thomas Hunt Morgan; "Romance," two lectures by Sir Walter Raleigh; "A History of the Closophic Society of Princeton University," by Charles Richard Williams; "The Prosecution of Jesus: Its Date, History, and Legality," by Richard W. Husband; "Chemical Affinity and Chemical Equilibrium," by Hugh S. Taylor.

Dr. Maurice Emmanuel's "La Danse Grecque Antique," now made accessible to English readers in Harriet Jane Beauley's translation (Lane; \$3 net), was published as a Paris doctoral thesis in 1896, and favorably reviewed by French and German philologists at the time. The distinctive feature of the book is the confrontation of the poses and movements given by the monuments with their analogues reproduced by a modern dancer and caught by instantaneous photography. M. Emmanuel's assumption is that the elements of the dance must be the same for us and the Greeks if anatomy and the rhythmic sense remain unaltered. His conclusion is that the Greek dance, though somewhat inferior in technique to the French dance, was dramatically superior to it, and in this respect has much to teach the modern artist. It is impossible to summarize the analyses that lead up to this conclusion. Quite apart from the text, the six hundred illustrations with the appended list of their sources make the book of interest to the classical scholar and we presume of value to the practical student of the dance. The translator or the proofreaders should have sought expert aid. Greek names are mutilated beyond the measure of even twentieth-century license. Athenaeus, for example, appears as Athénée, Athennus, and Athenatus. We could suggest plausible emendations of "Hezechius," "Saphic strope," and the "choral monument of Lycias." But in the absence of the French text, which it seems is out of print, we are completely baffled by the statement on page 5: "The compilation made by J. Meursius in 1618 is a laborious enumeration, made in alphabetical order, of all the expressions used by a philologist of Holland relating to the dance."

"In Praise of Maine" would have been a better title for Walter Emerson's book than "The Latchstring" (Houghton Mifflin; \$2 net). Beginning with the promise that he will "try to avoid the magniloquence of the man with the megaphone," the author promptly raises his voice, and even at the end of 223 pages of shouting informs us that "the half has not been told." To be candid, he has not really had much to say: Here are health and pleasure, here is beautiful scenery, here is the best of everything, here is the foremost State of the Union—that is the sum of his book—breathless, uncritical eulogy with always the minimum of evidence and the maximum of generalization. It is, indeed, little more than an unusually elaborate resort folder or booklet, extravagant in substance, journalistic in style, wearisome in effect. The outstanding pages of the book are, significantly, the summary of the game and fish laws and the quotations from Lowell, Thoreau, Mr. Howells, and others who have seen Maine with profit. The least attractive pages concern the frequently recurring discussion of the activities of the epicure; there is, apparently, no higher praise than this: "In what State, pray, has the gastronomer more, and more varied, opportunity for the exercise of his peculiar mental ability and powers of appetite and digestion?" All of which is a pity, for one might write a charming and sensible book "In Praise of Maine." Doubtless Maine has "the most stimulating climate of any State in the Union"; doubtless her 1,600 lakes and 3,000 miles of seacoast do constitute an amazing natural advantage for the "resort industry"; doubtless Moosehead Lake is "less than a day from Beacon Hill," so that Maine's 500,000 visitors can enjoy her with little effort; doubtless "Maine is at last on the automobile map"; doubtless she has only begun to realize her vast resources, despite her long history. All of these things should be said, of course, if they are strictly true; but such statements should be accompanied with enlightening description or comment, and they should be set forth temperately, without actual or implied disparagement of every other State in the nation. Precisely the same kind of "boom," precisely the same kind of awakening, are characteristic of many other regions in this country.

"Der Teufel in den deutschen geistlichen Spielen des Mittelalters und der Reformationszeit" (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press), by Dr. Maximilian Josef Rudwin, of Purdue University, is an expanded dissertation which falls into two nearly equal parts. In the first half the author deals with the various scenes in the mediæval German religious dramas in which the devil appears. The procedure here is most methodical: a topic (*e. g.*, the temptation of Christ) is indicated, its Biblical basis is shown, and the origin and development of the theme in the church plays are then discussed. The second part of the book, dealing with the rôle of the German devil in the Middle Ages, is of far greater general interest. There is much here that is of value to students of folk-lore, especially the conception of the devil as *similia dei* or parody of God. It is a pity that the author's determination to be *strengh wissenschaftlich* at all costs has not allowed him to bring out some of the points of human significance in more prominent relief. The general aspect of the monograph is as schematic and forbidding as a catalogue.

Scholars who have read the first two volumes of A. J. Carlyle's "History of Mediæval Political Theory in the West" will welcome the appearance of the third volume (Putnam; \$3.50). It shows the same wide acquaintance with all sorts of mediæval writings and the same sure grasp of fundamental ideas for which his previous work is distinguished. It deals chiefly with the writers of the tenth to the twelfth centuries, when feudalism was at its height and was exercising a formative Teutonic influence on the inherited Roman and Christian political ideas. The author believes that three great conceptions dominated the political thought of the period. The first is the principle that the purpose of the political organization of society is ethical or moral, that is, the maintenance of justice and righteousness. The second, closely related to the first, is the principle of the supremacy of the law as the concrete embodiment of justice; the men of the Middle Ages, quite unlike those of today, did not regard law as something made by men yesterday and likely to be changed to-morrow; they regarded it rather as something which had grown with the life of the community and which reflected the perfect principles of justice. The third conception, again closely connected with the other two, is that the relation between the king and the people is founded upon the mutual obligation to maintain justice and law. This mediæval idea of the social contract is not, after the eighteenth-century manner of Rousseau, a speculation of a pseudo-historical kind, related to some original agreement upon which political society was founded, but rather a natural and legitimate conclusion from the principle of the election of the ruler by the community; it is an agreement to observe the law and to maintain justice.

In a supplement to his *Law of Copyright* (Oxford University Press; 5s. net) George Stuart Robertson brings his *Digest of English Decisions* down to the opening of the present year. The number of cases thus added to the text is not large—only thirty-three—and they are so concisely summarized that this portion of the supplement is scarcely intelligible apart from the original text. At times, however, a very brief note brings out the full meaning of a decision. For example, *Byrne v. Statist Co.* (1914), 1 K. B., 622, is referred to as holding that a summarized and edited translation of a speech reported in a foreign language is "an original literary work," of which the translator is the author and the owner of the copyright. Mr. Robertson cites approvingly a decision of the Imperial Court of Germany to the effect that the provisions of the International Copyright Convention are not affected by the war, except so far as they are altered by express legislation enacted since the war began. More than four-fifths of this pamphlet is given up to appendices in which "statutes and statutory documents" of various nations are set forth in detail. Here are to be found the text of the International Copyright Convention; various orders in council and Presidential proclamations relating thereto, as well as the rules and regulations for the registration of claims to copyright in accordance with our act of Congress of 1909 and the rules adopted by the United States Supreme Court for practice and procedure under this act. The pamphlet should prove serviceable to the Ameri-

can author and lawyer as well as to their English brethren.

The appearance of Prof. Henry Jones Ford's "Woodrow Wilson: The Man and his Work" (Appleton; \$1.50 net), on the eve of the convention which promptly renominated Mr. Wilson for President, will probably lead most readers to class the book as a campaign biography rather than as either a personal or a political study. From either point of view, however, the work is interesting. Hawthorne, called upon to write a campaign life of his college mate, Franklin Pierce, had the task of imparting interest to a career which, up to that moment, had notably lacked distinction. Professor Ford, essaying a similar service on his own account for a friend and former colleague, has had the more difficult and precarious task of justifying a career which has not only suffered the pitiless light of modern newspaper publicity, but has also, perhaps, been as imperfectly understood as it has been bitterly criticised. By aid of lavish and skilful quotation from messages and speeches, Professor Ford passes in review some of the most important policies which Mr. Wilson, as Governor and President, has initiated or supported, at the same time commenting informingly upon their constitutional or political significance as contributions to the theory and practice of American government. In this respect the book is a strong setting forth of Mr. Wilson's qualities of courageous initiative and masterful leadership. On the other hand, the critical reader will at once perceive that Professor Ford has by no means told the whole story. The devious course of Mr. Wilson's Mexican policy, for example, is glossed over; his long opposition to preparedness, suddenly replaced by zealous advocacy of an increased military and naval establishment, hardly appears at all; while the account of his attitude towards the European war will not, we fear, satisfy either the supporters or the critics of the Administration. Some one has said that truth, after all, is only that phase of a subject which it is advisable to present at the moment; and we cheerfully concede that a President who, near the end of a troublous and difficult term of office, again invites the suffrages of the American democracy, is entitled to have his career exhibited by his friends in the most favorable light, as Professor Ford has certainly done in this case. A curious misprint on the title-page credits Professor Ford with the authorship of a "National History of the State," the correct title reading, of course, "Natural" instead of "National."

The progress of archaeological study and discovery in the eastern Mediterranean has in the last few years completely revolutionized our knowledge of the cultural situation of Palestine. At the same time, although excavation in Palestine has still made hardly more than a beginning, the investigation of such sites as Gezer, Megiddo, and Jericho has made it possible to trace the progress of civilization in the southeastern Mediterranean from the Neolithic Age onward to the time of Roman supremacy in this region. The rapid recovery of a vast body of material documents, monuments of architecture, art, and industry has, of course, suddenly deluged the archaeologist with a whole series of problems of capital importance. With these problems Mr. P. S. P. Handcock's volume, "The Archaeology of the

Holy Land" (Macmillan) can hardly be said to deal, or even to show very much appreciation of the fact that these problems exist. The volume is, indeed, one of those so commonly produced in England by writers whose information is obtained exclusively at second-hand—writers who possess none of that competence which can only grow out of long experience and thorough discipline in the use of archaeological materials. In spite of the fact that the author at one time held an assistantship in the Department of Oriental Antiquities in the British Museum, his volume is another example of the facility with which the members of the Inner Temple undertake any scientific task which momentary interest happens to suggest. The Orient has always been a happy hunting ground for such casual excursionists. In method Mr. Handcock's book is a mechanical catalogue of the available materials, drawn from the field reports of the excavators. The mechanical arrangement by materials, giving us, for example, a chapter on Flint, Bone, Ivory, and Stone from the earliest to the latest times, quite precludes the complete presentation of the culture of any given period. If the reader wishes to know what the culture of a given age, as revealed in its material remains, was like, he will be obliged to go through the entire volume, picking out here and there bits of scattered information about the surviving monuments of the age in question. It is evident that the author himself has formed no clear conception of the successive periods of civilized progress or of the advance of human culture in Palestine. He posits the date 2500 to 2000 B. C. for the earliest incoming of the Semites into Palestine. This impossible date seems then to have been forgotten by the author, for less than a hundred pages later we find him dating at "perhaps about 3600 B. C." an Egyptian relief depicting a Palestinian town defended by Semites! As a catalogue of available materials, Mr. Handcock's book will prove useful for reference, until the schooled and many-sided archaeologist required for such a task shall give us a picture of the advancing composite civilization of Palestine from the earliest times to the Roman Empire.

The first modern edition of Henry Fielding's contributions to his *Covent Garden Journal* has been issued by the Yale University Press in two handsome illustrated volumes (\$5) edited by Gerard Edward Jensen. The general reader of eighteenth-century literature may regret that the editor chose to employ so much time and care upon a comparatively unimportant periodical, and may surmise that Johnson's *Rambler* or Goldsmith's *Bee* would have proved more rewarding. But devotees of Fielding will be glad to have this definitive issue of a work much of which has been omitted from even the best "complete" editions of their favorite author. Dr. Jensen reprints all the leading articles of the *Journal*, including some which are not in the British Museum folio; and by means of fairly trustworthy tests he identifies those written by Fielding himself. It is inconvenient that he does not attach Fielding's name to the proper contributions in the text, but confines the statement of authorship to the notes—the result being that an easy-going reader may unwittingly peruse an essay by a nonentity while under the impression that he is reading the great Sir Alexander Drawcansir.

In Mr. Austin Dobson's essay on the *Covent*

*Garden Journal*, most of its really interesting biographical and social values have been described in a manner more genial than Dr. Jensen's. Very many of Fielding's allusions, however, remained obscure; and it is in their elucidation that Dr. Jensen is most serviceable. Much of his editorial introduction is given to an exhaustive study of the vituperative warfare between Fielding and rival journalists such as Bonnell Thornton and John Hill. In some respects the introduction seems less valuable than the annotations, among which are especially praiseworthy those on Fielding's classical scholarship (p. 148), on his hatred of Deism (p. 167), and on the Robin Hood Society of freethinking debaters (p. 169). The patient tracing of nearly every one of Fielding's quotations to their sources enlarges our knowledge of his reading, impresses upon us anew his extraordinary familiarity with Greek as well as Latin authors, and reminds us that the famous invocation to Learning in "Tom Jones" was not a piece of humorous affectation. Though Dr. Jensen opines that his author is "at his best" in the *Covent Garden Journal*, it is doubtful whether its reissue will enhance Fielding's fame or compel any important modification in our understanding of his character and views. These essays are too forceful indeed to be called the dregs of his genius, yet few of them reveal large thoughts or deep feelings not already familiar to us through his greater works.

It is not given to every one to present in 190 small pages the relation of the particular and the Universal, and incidentally to settle the questions of happiness, the freedom of the will, and most of the other problems of ethics, religion, and philosophy. This, however, is what Mr. Theophilus B. Stork has done in his work, "The Will in Ethics" (Boston: Sherman, French; \$1.25 net). "The particular will and the Universal will and their mutual relations to each other," says Mr. Stork, in his Preface (which he entitles "The Shop Window Word"), "is the most absorbing and important theme that the intellect of man can dwell upon. In it are hidden the mysteries of life, good and evil, happiness and misery. Once understand the true relations of the particular will to the Universal, and you hold in your hand the key to all things." It is the aim of the book to provide the reader with this "key to all things"—a key which consists in the insight that the particular will is a part of the Universal. This original idea is applied with some skill in the discussion of happiness, art, and religion, and the book ends with a section on the Reconciliation of the Particular and the Universal, in which the superiority of Christianity to Buddhism is clearly demonstrated.

R. P. Hearne's was one of the voices that cried in the wilderness before the war warning his fellow Britons to beware of Zeppelins and to build some themselves. In his introduction to "Zeppelins and Super-Zeppelins" (Lane; \$1 net) he gives himself the melancholy satisfaction of recalling these prophecies of eight years ago, and advances as one of the purposes of the present volume "to rouse popular interest in airships as distinct from aeroplanes," for the day is coming, in his opinion, when for England mastery of the air will be as important as mastery of the sea. In the chapters that follow he provides all the information that it is possible to give in popular form concerning the his-

tory, construction, and uses of airships of the rigid type. His book has the merits of clarity and simplicity, and the author is wisely, not afraid of being too elementary.

Of present interest is the description of the Anglo-German frontier in East Africa—since the greater part has already fallen into the hands of the English—by M. C. Alluaud in the *Annales de Géographie* for May. Among the other subjects treated are the evolution of the population of Alsace-Lorraine since the German occupation, especially of Strasbourg, and the canal to connect Marseilles with the Rhine, characterized as the most important economical work undertaken by the French. Many interesting facts are also given in regard to the revolution in recent years in the production of silk and its commercial status. The latest statistics show that Japan now leads the countries of the world as the producer and seller of silk.

## Drama

### "COAT-TALES."

The new dramatic season opened auspiciously on the last day of July at the Cort Theatre with a merry little farce, "Coat-Tales," by Edward Clark, more distinguished for the excellence of its performance than for any conspicuous merit in its lines or construction. The story concerns the disappearances and reappearances of a Russian sable coat, which from its first introduction in a pawnbroker's shop to its final recovery by its lawful owner, passes (slips would be more accurate) through the hands of every one of the dozen persons who make up the cast—except those of the deputy sheriff, whose business it is to impound it. In the course of his legerdemain the author uses to the point of abuse all the license which is allowed to farce, so that at times even the numerous exits provided hardly serve to rid the stage quickly enough of characters whose present usefulness is exhausted. And more often than not he is able to devise no better scheme for getting rid of them than to order them summarily out of the way.

Indifferently played "Coat-Tales" would be a poor thing; but Arthur Hammerstein, who presents it, has provided a remarkably strong cast, headed by Tom Wise and Louise Dresser. Mr. Wise's rôle is by no means as good as he is entitled to, but he makes the rôle a great deal better than it is, and he gives a lead to the rest of the company in rushing the piece along at such a hurricane pace that its defects are almost lost to sight. Others in the cast who should be singled out for special mention are Richard Tabor, George Anderson, John Lewis, and Miss Maud Hanaford, the last playing an impossible stenographer with such dexterity as almost to render her plausible. The farce is not without ideas, and it has a number of good lines, but the success which it seems likely to enjoy, judging from the hearty laughter which greeted it on the second night, will be principally due to the high quality of the acting.

S. W.

The Hispanic Society of America publishes a handsomely printed English version of "Un Drama Nuevo" which is generally accounted the masterpiece of the famous Spanish dramatist, Don Manuel Tamayo y Baus. The trans-

lation is the joint work of John Driscoll Fitzgerald and the late Thacher Howland Guild and is printed as a memorial of the latter. It is written in sound and vigorous, if not very flexible, English. This is the play, it may be remembered, which was the basis of the "Yorick's Love" of W. D. Howells, first produced here by Augustin Daly, in which Louis James and afterwards Lawrence Barrett achieved personal distinction, but no very large amount of popular success. This literal version shows that Mr. Howells exercised tact and discretion in making his changes. The plot is exceedingly ingenious, although highly improbable. A young actress, out of pure respect and gratitude, marries Yorick, a player much older than herself, who has been a guardian angel to herself and her mother, while loving and beloved by the adopted son of her husband and benefactor. From first to last she is innocent in deed and intent. But the secret of the lovers is divined by an envious actor who, without mentioning names, continues to provoke in the devoted and hitherto unsuspecting Yorick a jealousy all the more maddening because it is blind. A crisis is impending when, by evil chance, the actors in the domestic complication are required, in a new play, to appear in conditions exactly corresponding with those which they are maintaining towards each other in actual life. Thus the villain is enabled, in supposedly fictitious action, to supply Yorick with the promised proof—by giving him a real instead of a dummy letter—and the expected tragedy, in which the young lover is killed, is accomplished publicly upon the stage. The artificiality of the scheme is characteristic of melodrama rather than of high tragedy, in which the catastrophe ought to be seemingly inevitable. Here this effect is marred by the lavish employment of obviously pre-arranged coincidence. But the manipulation is so deft and plausible that the climax, once the premises are granted, is logical and natural. Beyond question it is intensely dramatic. It is only in the mechanism of the play that there is any touch of melodrama. The spirit is entirely that of tragic romance, and the delineation of character masterly. The very elaboration of the dissection of heart and mind in expressive, but for dramatic purposes excessive, dialogue and soliloquy constitutes a theatrical defect. The nicety of it is too superfine for the stage and can be appreciated fully only in the library. Alice, the heroine, is a charming creation, and completely life-like. She is a pure woman, haplessly involved in a struggle between innate innocence and natural instinct. Her prototype was Juliet—Juliet with an inconvenient husband. It is plain that Don Manuel found his inspiration in Shakespeare, he makes no effort to disguise the fact, for Shakespeare—not the master Heywood of Howells—is his *deus ex machina*. And his representative of the Bard is not unworthy, either in intellect or in action. Yorick, Hamlet's Yorick, is Othello, less barbaric, less magnificent, less poetic, but scarcely less virile. The envious Walton is Iago, less brilliant, less demonic, but with a more adequate motive. Unquestionably this is a great play, in which a difficult theme is handled with notable dexterity and rare literary, emotional, and dramatic power. With a little judicious condensation it could not fail to win triumph upon the English stage, if—which is exceedingly improbable—a company capable of doing it justice could be assembled. It demands, and is worthy of, acting of the finest sort.

## Finance

### THE PRESENT PROSPERITY.

The recent statement of our exports and imports for the month of June, and for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1916, is certainly an astonishing revelation. The total foreign trade of the United States for the year in question was \$6,531,683,446, of which amount \$4,333,698,604 represents exports and \$2,197,984,842 imports, there being an excess of exports of \$2,135,713,762, against an excess of exports for the previous year of \$1,094,419,600, and for 1914 of \$470,653,491.

As the hostilities in Europe did not begin until a full month after the close of the fiscal year, 1914, we have here a striking evidence of the effect of the war on international trade. The exports of 1914 from this country were exceeded but once, namely, in 1913, when they were about \$100,000,000 larger than during the year immediately preceding Austria's declaration of war against Servia. During the fiscal year, which closed about five weeks ago, however, our exports alone were \$75,000,000 larger than our total foreign trade during the period of 1914 and \$55,000,000 larger than during that of 1913, and were only about \$109,000,000 smaller than our total trade for the period of 1915. Nothing is needed to complete our arrangement except the fact that in the fiscal year ended June 30, 1916, we imported \$403,761,219 more gold than we exported, against an excess of exports in 1915 of \$25,344,607 and an excess of imports in 1914 of \$45,499,870.

This showing is so favorable as almost to fill our people with consternation. There is a feeling in some minds that the reaction must be equally pronounced. Sentiment to-day is characterized by innumerable cross-currents. Despite the fears entertained a month ago, the prosperity of this country has not yet passed its peak, the belief that the war orders were practically at an end has not been realized. On the contrary, there has been a new accession of such orders. While it is not possible to predict what a day may bring forth, a feeling has recently sprung up that the enormous trade of the last year will be prolonged considerably beyond our previous expectations.

Yet underlying this feeling is the deep-seated fear that sooner or later we shall have to pay for this phenomenal prosperity. Evidences of this fact abound. Industrial associations are sending out circular letters to their members voicing a great fear. There is not only a general apprehension of a rigid economy throughout the whole world when the war is over that will react powerfully upon our industry, but also a specific fear that Germany will enter upon a relentless career of trade conquest which will be productive of dire consequences to this country as well as to the great nations of Europe.

It is easy to attach too much importance to this apprehension. So many predictions have been falsified in the last two years that it is reasonable to hope that those of the

present moment may prove equally futile. The world has passed through a number of calamities as great as the one which has overtaken it since August 1, 1914. Studied collectively, those catastrophes warrant no such assumptions as those now voiced in so many quarters. The Thirty Years' War, though merely a local conflict in comparison with the present, entailed shocking consequences with which those so far resulting from the war of 1914 cannot be compared. This fact will be readily conceded by any one familiar with German history. It is not without reason that historians have declared that the Thirty Years' War put back the material progress of Germany two hundred years.

Far surpassing the Thirty Years' War, however, in many of its aspects was the Black Death of the fifteenth century. This awful calamity was preceded by an outbreak of superstitious excitement accompanied by rumors of strange portents and signs in nature, and of the approaching end of the world. The pestilence, after ravaging China, Tartary, and the Levant, broke out in southern France and rapidly extended over all Europe, spreading terror before it. It not only destroyed far larger numbers of people than any other calamity in human annals, but it had an immense influence on the mode of thought, the character, and life of the survivors. It was undoubtedly the world's greatest catastrophe, not excepting the present war. Yet its economic consequences were the very reverse of those of the Thirty Years' War. It imparted new life to the nations, a new initiative. The wages of labor in England rose immediately a hundred per cent. In consequence of it. It marked the beginning of the rights and prosperity of the working classes.

These allusions would at other times have seemed academic, but they are quite pertinent to a discussion of the catastrophe which to-day confronts the world. They remind us that the present occurrence should not be judged in the light of normal happenings. Yet if we scrutinize the present setback without any appeal to history, and merely in the light of what we can see with our own eyes to-day, it is still reasonable to question the fears now prevalent.

The fear of Germany is, indeed, in a good many minds. The recommendation of the Economic Conference of the Allies, held in Paris in June, 1916, declares that "after forcing upon them [the Allied Governments] the military contest, in spite of all their efforts to avoid the conflict, the Empires of Central Europe are to-day preparing, in concert with their allies, for a contest on the economic plane, which will not only survive the reestablishment of peace, but will at that moment attain its full scope and intensity." It also declares that the Allied Governments cannot, therefore, "conceal from themselves that the agreements which are being prepared for this purpose between their enemies have the obvious object of establishing the domination of the latter over the production of the markets of the

whole world and of imposing on other countries an intolerable yoke."

This may be considered a sufficiently authoritative declaration regarding the purposes of Germany. If anything more is needed, we have it in the oft-repeated assertion of Germany that such is her purpose. It is possible, however, that the Allied Governments of Europe and the merchants and manufacturers of the United States are taking too much counsel of their fears. After all, it is not easy to see how all this is to come to pass. The minutiae of the situation are too numerous and too complicated to be reviewed in an article of this length. There are, however, a few facts of first importance which may help us to form an opinion regarding the future. It is reasonable to infer that if Germany accomplishes her fell purpose it will be by means of "dumping." That certainly is the way she acquired her trade supremacy prior to the war. Now it is shrewdly suspected by a good many who have kept a sharp eye on international trade during the last quarter of a century that Germany had had her fill of "dumping" even before August 1, 1914. In fact, there is not a little evidence that the war is mainly a result of her having had more than she could stand of it.

"Dumping" is a thing which most economists have in the past regarded as an expedient measure. As a permanent policy its merits may be questioned. Germany has been "dumping" for at least two decades. She has developed her industries far beyond the point of home consumption, and in order to keep her people busy and avoid an economic collapse she has sold in foreign markets at a loss, this loss, however, being made good, in whole or in part, by enhanced prices at home. It looks very much as if to continue this policy in the years following the war it will be necessary for her to keep the purchasing power of her people at a maximum. Obviously this is going to be a far more difficult thing to do in the future than in the years preceding the war, owing to the enormously increased taxation which she is now foisting upon the German people.

Such a policy as she has pursued in the past necessarily calls for an excessive banking capital. Just what the condition of the German banks is to-day, and what it is likely to be on the declaration of peace, is an enigma. Before the outbreak of the present hostilities there was a suspicion in a good many minds that the financial situation in Germany was not all that it should be. The fact that Germany was making so large a use of foreign money markets in financing her ordinary trade movement had a good deal to do with creating the suspicion that her own banks were too heavily concerned in financing the "economic conquest" of foreign markets. German banks have been known to take very large risks in the past. Cliques and coteries possessing royal favor have not infrequently wrought havoc with German finance.

One other fact is pertinent to this discus-



By Lajpat Rai  
A Leader of the Indian Nationalist Movement

## Young India

An Interpretation and a History of the Nationalist Movement from Within  
With 8 portraits. At all bookstores, \$1.50 net.  
B. W. Huebsch, Publisher New York

## From Mons to Ypres with General French

A Personal Narrative, By FREDERIC COLEMAN  
"To read Mr. Coleman's leisurely personal narrative is as near to having the actual experience of living and working in the battle zone as, perhaps, it is possible to get out of a book."—New York Times.  
With fifty illustrations from photographs taken by the author. \$1.50 net.

DODD, MEAD & COMPANY, NEW YORK

## AMERICA'S FOREIGN RELATIONS

By Willie Fletcher Johnson

The origin and development of America's increasingly important international relationships. Appendix, Index, bibliography. 8vo. 2 vols. Bored. \$6.00 net.  
At all bookstores Published by THE CENTURY CO.

## THE CIVILIZATION OF BABYLONIA AND ASSYRIA

By MORRIS JASTROW, Jr., Professor of Semitic Languages, Univ. of Pennsylvania. 164 illustrations. Handsome Library Cl. 8vo. in box. Net, \$8. The only book on the subject treating of the entire civilization of these ancient nations—languages, laws, religions, customs, buildings, etc.—other books have treated only partial phases of the subject.  
J. B. LIPPIN COMPANY, PHILADELPHIA

# 10,000 Vacations Wanted

### YOU Can Help In The Infantile Paralysis Emergency

10,000 little children and their mothers have been closely confined in their stifling tenement homes in the heat of mid-summer by quarantine or in fear of the disease.



Health Commissioner Emerson says:

"One of the best things the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor can do to co-operate in the effort to control the epidemic of infantile paralysis is to extend its fresh air work at Sea Breeze for the children of the tenements."

To meet the situation, Sea Breeze has been enlarged and will extend its season as late as possible into the Fall. Will you send some of these mothers and children to



## SEA BREEZE

Cool—Restful—Health-giving

Allow 50 cents a day or \$3 a week for each one you will send, and send the amount to George Blagden, Treasurer.

The New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor

CORNELIUS N. BLISS, Jr., President

Room 220, 105 East 22d St., New York City

"Gee, but it's great at Sea Breeze!"

THIS MAGAZINE IS PRINTED BY



20 VESEY STREET, NEW YORK

## Good News Keeps Going

Good news is the safest and surest traveler there is.

The good news of the better service of Royal Typewriters reaches you, for instance.

Then you may not pass it on until the Royal has proven the good news to you.

But the good news keeps going. It's a fine thing to have so many friends.

We intend that the Royal shall hold them.

ROYAL TYPEWRITER CO., INC.

ROYAL TYPEWRITER BUILDING,  
360 Broadway, New York, N.Y.

Branches and Agencies the World Over

THE NATION PRESS, Inc.

